# THE LIFE STORY OF
# · BRIGHAM YOUNG ·

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THE MORMON LEADER, BRIGHAM YOUNG

# The LIFE STORY of BRIGHAM YOUNG

By

SUSA YOUNG GATES
(ONE OF HIS DAUGHTERS)

In collaboration with
LEAH D. WIDTSOE

WITH A FOREWORD BY
REED SMOOT

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# AUTHORS' NOTE

The authors desire to express their deep appreciation of the valuable assistance given them by Messrs. Joseph Fielding Smith, L. D. S. Church Historian, A. William Lund, Assistant Church Historian, J. M. Sjodahl, Edward H. Anderson, and Col. Willard Young, who have read the manuscript and given excellent suggestions and criticism. The authors are especially grateful to Mr. Harold J. Shepstone, of London, England, for invaluable help and encouragement. He undertook the task of condensing the original two-volume manuscript into a series of interesting articles. From his condensation the present volume has been prepared. His untiring efforts to make it possible for the book to "see the light of day" are much appreciated. Thanks are also due to Mr. F. A. Jones of New York City for his kind assistance.

This Life Story is intended by the authors to be a tribute also to the brothers and sisters of Brigham Young and to all the other stalwart pioneer men and women, who by their faith and energy were the real conquerors of the wastes of the Great Basin of North America.

# FOREWORD

THIS book presents the life story of a New England cabinet-maker, who, well into his thirties, entered upon a career that made him an empire builder of the West; the founder of a hundred cities; the governor of one of the territories of the United States; and one of the outstanding figures of the nineteenth century.

There is vivid portrayal in this book of Brigham Young's spiritual struggles before accepting an unpopular religion; his fervent proselyting zeal for the new faith of the Latter Day Saints in America, Canada and Great Britain; his leadership of the greatest trek in modern days across 2000 miles of sparsely settled and desert country into the heart of the Great American Desert; and the ultimate conquest, by wise statesmanship, of the Great Basin country.

Brigham Young's life abounded in stirring events. He walked 700 miles to defend his persecuted people; sent a battalion of young men on the longest infantry march in history to help the United States in the war with Mexico; and then was obliged, for the protection of his people, to defy a United States army sent out to subdue an imaginary rebellion. A procession of Indians and gold seekers, pioneers and mountebanks passes through the pages of this book. It is a graphic, gripping story.

To conquer the desert wastes, the pioneers, under Brigham Young's leadership, dug canals, imported plants and animals, built railroads and telegraphs, established industries and banks, constructed theatres, founded universities, erected temples and encouraged music, literature and art. The hand press for the first newspaper and the machinery for the first sugar factory were brought by ox-team across a thousand miles of desert sands. The unfolding of this remarkable life reveals many of the principles that made possible the conquest of the wilderness, and that may be used in solving modern-day problems.

Brigham Young's life was a romance; the subduing of the Great American Desert is an epic of empire building. The annals of the life of the leader are here set forth in clean and sparkling language, with deft anecdote and well told story, using many hitherto unpublished details of family life. A gifted daughter of the Pioneer, in collaboration with her daughter, has produced an interest-begetting, entrancing account of a notable human life.

The cry for "Mormon" sensation is now happily a thing of the past. The world is recognising that "Mormonism," instead of being a debasing system, has much to teach this perplexed and harassed age. Men are asking for an explanation of the wonderful vitality that knows no defeat, has conquered self, overcome hatred and greed, built up a brotherhood founded on love and justice, and established a flourishing economic system. They ask, Is it the result of organization or of some special talent? The straight-forward story told in this book, without endeavor at propaganda, is an answer to these and other questions about "Mormon" beliefs and practices. Motives and incidents, attempts and achievements among the Latter Day Saints are made plain as the story progresses.

This well written book should be a welcome addition to the literature of human achievement. Likewise, it is a valuable contribution to Western history, for it sets forth, with unusual living interest, the romance and essential facts of the settlement of the Great Basin. The story of Brigham Young's life can only be the reflection of the lives of the multitudes who with him hoped and toiled to conquer the desert.

REED SMOOT

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
*April, 1930*

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# *The* LIFE STORY *of*
# BRIGHAM YOUNG

# THE LIFE STORY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

## I

### YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD

Lowly Birth—New England Parentage—Puritan Principles—Family Life—Learns a Trade—Farming in Summer and Carpentering in Winter—Joins Methodist Church—His Marriage—Hears of the Prophet Joseph Smith—Accepts the New Gospel—Conversion of His Wife, Father, Brothers and Sisters—Death of His Wife—Becomes a Missionary—Called by the Prophet to Kirtland, the Headquarters of the New Church—Re-marries—Continues Activity.

THE dynamic force of Brigham Young, together with the ever unpopular religion which he represented, made him, however unwittingly, the focus of all Utah history and Mormon development for over thirty years. That he was of lowly birth, without early school training, could not lessen the majesty of his own great personality. This humble disciple of Jesus Christ was destined to become the second President of the re-established Church of Christ, first Governor of the American State of Utah, founder of cities and prosperous settlements with their farms, mills, factories, schools, colleges, meeting-places and temples, conqueror of the Great American Desert and the creator of an empire in the great intermountain spaces of western America.

Brigham Young was a Puritan of the Puritans, an American born of New England Americans. His father, John Young, was a soldier of the Revolutionary War and served under General Washington. Like many others at that period he thought to better his condition by the removal of his already large and rapidly increasing family, from Hopkinton, in the State of

Massachusetts, where his father and grandfather had lived and died, to the southern edge of Vermont, in Windham County, where a small town, Whittingham, had been established twenty years before. Here a log house was built, and a delicate wife, Abigail Howe Young, was located, and soon thereafter her ninth child and fourth son, Brigham, was born on June 1, 1801. His name Brigham was the surname of his uncle, Phineas Brigham, who married his mother's sister, Susanna. Thus Brigham Young, like the Prophet Joseph Smith, was born in Vermont; but Brigham's Vermont birthplace was rather the accident of circumstance. The Youngs were all Massachusetts Pilgrims and Puritans, back on both lines to the early settlement of the New England States. The children born to John and Abigail were Nancy, Fanny, Rhoda, John, Jr., Nabby, Susanna, Joseph, Phineas Howe, Brigham, Louisa and Lorenzo Dow. They all grew to be stalwart and useful men and women, and assisted greatly in the building of the West.

The childhood of Brigham Young was marked by plain living and high thinking. Fanny, his older sister, was the official nurse and milkmaid of the family; the unruly family cows would allow no one but deft-handed, gentle Fanny to essay the daily task. The baby Brigham was put on a bottle because of the continued illness of the mother and shared the passionate preference for Fanny, crying lustily if the others sought to relieve the burdened little sister of her constant charge.

The daily routine of the family followed the pattern of their Puritan forebears. The father was strict to sternness. Brigham once remarked: "It was a word and a blow with my father, but the blow came first." To listen to a fiddle, to laugh or shout on the Sabbath day was a fault unforgivable. But the mother's tact and sympathy mellowed the sternness of the father and encircled childish deeds and faults with tender solicitude. She taught them their letters and gave them what schooling she could. The girls were taught to-day's lost arts of plain and fancy needlework, candle-dipping, rag-carpet making, quilt-piecing, spinning and weaving. Besides these duties were those of baby-tending for older ones, together with chicken-feeding and milking. The boys were all busy on the farm and the older sons were apprenticed out to learn some useful trade.

The diet of these migrating pioneers was that of their condition and inheritance. They invariably had baked potatoes, plenty of eggs, milk and cheese, "Johnny cake" and buttermilk, varied by "garden-sass" in summer, and ginger-bread and squash pie and dried beans put into the brick oven on Saturday night for the Sabbath dinner so that no cooking and work should mar the sacred peace of that day. All this made for the health and simplicity of the happy home. In it all was cleanliness.

Father, mother, children, all of them, loved and made music. The mother was a choir singer in the Methodist congregation, where she and her God-fearing husband worshipped. Parents and children read and studied the Scriptures and they were eager students of the primitive schools of their neighbourhood during such periods as their almost nomadic life permitted. All of them inherited easy verbal expression, a good deal of literary and musical taste with "genteel" manners, and some were gay and vivacious; they were affectionate, generous and cheerful.

During his boyhood Brigham Young worked with his father on the farm. At the time of his mother's death, when he was fourteen years of age, he was "apprenticed out" to learn a trade—that of carpenter and painter. This he learned with such success that he entered business for himself when he was sixteen years of age. He became an expert carpenter and cabinet-maker, as some of his early work exists to testify, and he was wont to mention the fact that his best accomplishment was painting and glazing.

As a youth Brigham Young took little active interest in religion, and on this point records: "I was taught by my parents to live a strictly moral life. Still, it was not until my twenty-second year that I became serious and religiously inclined. Soon after this I attached myself to the Methodist Church."

He cultivated contact with intelligent men older than himself, yet retained lively relationship with youth. Always fond of children, he drew them naturally into the radius of his magnetic friendship. As a youth, he gathered little boys around him, telling them patriotic stories, inciting them to deeds of valour, and raising their ideals of life.

He had but eleven days of formal schooling, according to his own account. His mother taught him to read, and his father inculcated a love for the stately prose of the Bible. He was an intelligent student of life, and his intake of knowledge on any and every point was only equalled by his output of quiet leadership, even in his earliest years. His powers of observation were very acute. He was serious-minded, but possessed a keen sense of humour. He studied men and early showed his matchless power to centralise their thoughts upon the Cause he advocated rather than upon himself as an instrument.

Tall, five feet ten in youth, vigorous, handsome and magnetic, his physical comeliness was severely adorned with a cleanliness which was at times radiant. He was highly respected and so far as is known in his youth had no enemies, excited no jealousy, and travelled easily along life's beaten pathway, side by side with his fellow men.

Farming in the summer, and between times working at his trade as carpenter, cabinet-maker, painter and glazier, Brigham Young moved about from settlement to settlement during his early maturity. The family had removed to New York State. Several villages now credit themselves as having been his permanent dwelling-place. It is probable that he found it necessary to shift his quarters as he found work in various localities.

It was but a natural and logical step that pushed him into matrimony. He loved the peaceful seclusion of a home, yearned for the domestic independence which alone fosters character development and the self-expression which had been denied him since his mother's long illness and her final death in his early life. More than all, he loved children and that joy which alone comes from congenial wedded affection.

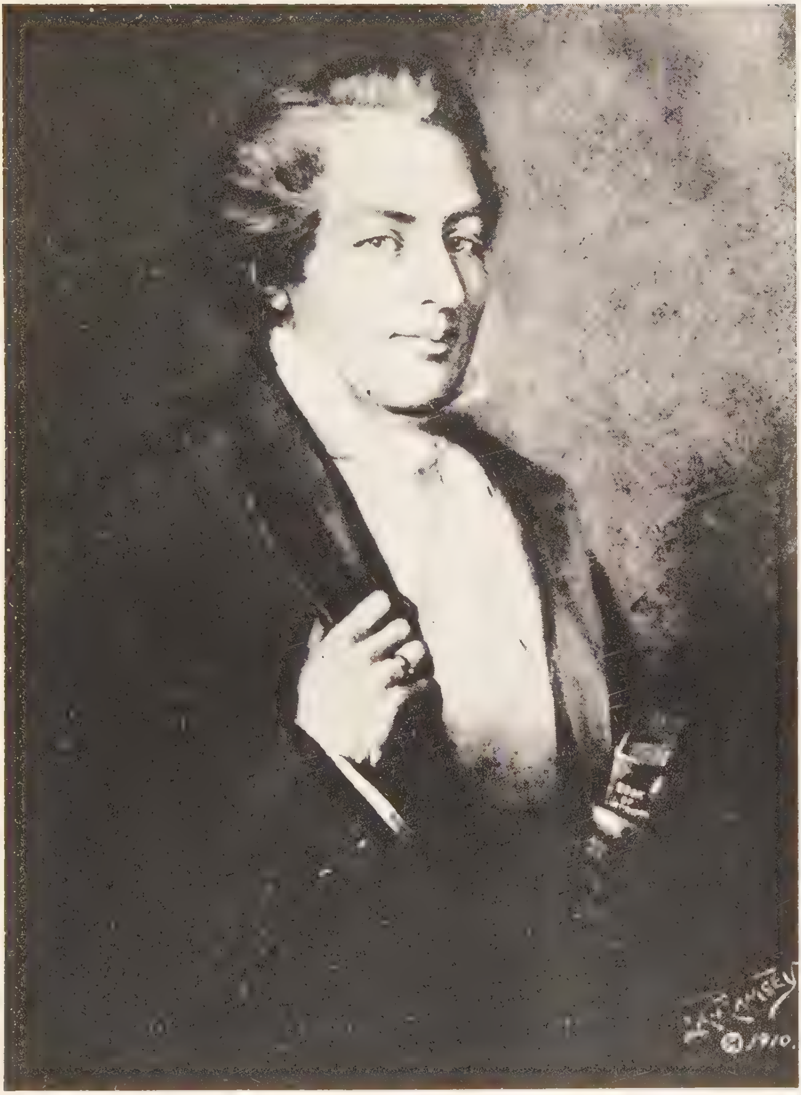
He was twenty-three when at some social gathering in Aurelius, Cayuga County, in the State of New York, he met a beautiful young woman, Miriam Angeline Works, daughter of Asa and Jerusha Works. To her he soon began to pay attentions, which were accepted with the same gentle propriety in which they were offered. There was nothing tempestuous nor impassioned in his outer conduct, then or ever.

In spite of its brevity the courtship was most romantic, and on October 8, 1824, the marriage was consummated. The love he gave his young wife was deep and abiding, and his loyalty to her was unquestioned. Miriam was a beautiful blonde, with blue eyes, a finely chiselled face and wavy hair. She possessed a gentle, uncomplaining spirit and was in every way most lovable. She became the mother of two girls, Elizabeth and Vilate, but was an invalid during the latter part of her life. Brigham Young once remarked that after marriage he worked for half a crown a day when he could not get more; got breakfast for his wife, himself, and the little girls, dressed the children, cleaned up the house, carried his wife to the rocking-chair by the fireplace and left her there until he could return in the evening. When he came home he cooked his own and the family's supper, put his wife back to bed and finished up the day's domestic labours.

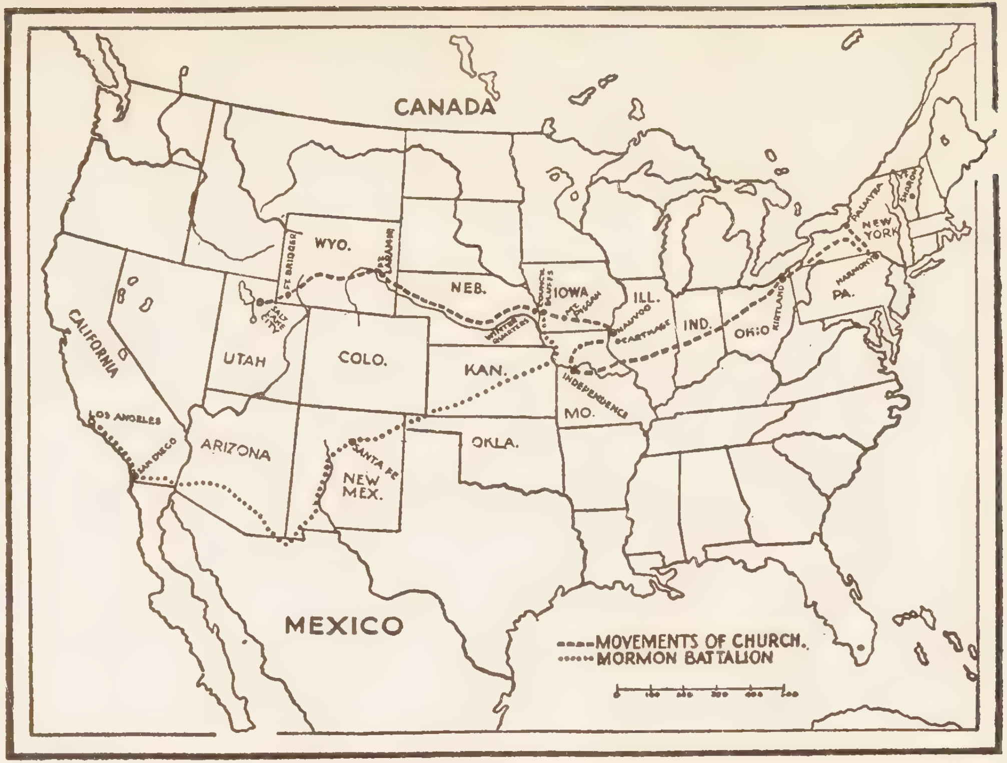
The house he built for his wife in Mendon, New York State, is a charming bit of early Colonial cottage workmanship, and still stands. He was in fairly comfortable circumstances, for he had the foresight to seize upon opportunity and use self-restraint to husband his resources. However, he did not display any unusual or ambitious traits. He was content with his good parents, brothers and sisters, his beautiful and loving wife and two little girls, his friends and neighbours. It is doubtful if he would have moved far or travelled much but for the thrilling appeal from God which was soon to enter his soul and drive out every thought but to "gather up to Zion" where Christ and His Prophet were re-establishing righteousness in the last days.

Soon after the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, news of the youthful Prophet Joseph Smith with his heavenly visitation and his "gold Bible" filtered through western New York State, carried by the town and county papers, through travellers and visitors into the adjoining counties of the State. Palmyra, where the Smith family lived, was only forty miles away, and Brigham Young heard the rumours of the New Prophet. Never credulous, yet attracted by the sheer audacity of a "brand new" American religion, a Puritan cry for new light on old doctrines, a bold reply to the insistent question of the old Roman Church as to where and how the Reformers received divine authority, he felt the need of personal investigation and individual mental measuring of old and new standards.

His conversion was preceded by months and months of study, of comparison between Scripture texts and the balancing of the breath-taking claims of the modern Prophet. Those claims covered vast chasms between orthodoxy and the new Gospel. He was told that a new revelation had come to the earth, to open the closed door so deftly locked against revelation by the last translators of the New Testament in applying John the Revelator's closing words to his own Book of Revelations. To the Scriptures of ancient times had been added another, the Book of Mormon, translated by divine gift and power. This book was a record of the people who lived



THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH, FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS


CANADA
MEXICO
CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
ARIZONA
UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY
FT BRIDGER
WYO.
FT LARAMIE
COLO.
NEW MEX.
SANTA FE
NEB.
WINTER QUARTERS
COUNCIL BLUFFS
IOWA
MT PISGAH
KAN.
OKLA.
MO.
INDEPENDENCE
ILL.
NAUVOO
CARTHAGE
IND.
OHIO
KIRTLAND
PA.
HARMONY
NEW YORK
PALMYRA
SHARON
MOVEMENTS OF CHURCH.
MORMON BATTALION

The heavier lines of the map show the trail of the Mormon people from the founding of the Church at Palmyra, in the State of New York, till their settlement in Salt Lake City, Utah. The lighter dotted lines depict the route of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs, or Winter Quarters, to Los Angeles, in California.

on the American continent who were the ancestors of the American Indians. It was a record of the struggles of another branch of the house of Israel. The keys and powers of the ancient Priesthood which had been lost for centuries since the apostasy of the mother Church had been restored. Now, all men, not alone the chosen few who became pastors and priests, but all worthy men who accepted the Gospel, could receive those keys and powers.

The new Church taught that life before this earth was individually lived, and life, after death, would continue personality, progress and intellectual growth; that such life was and would be as eternal as God was eternal; that women were to share in all the blessings and gifts of life here and hereafter, side by side with their husbands, fathers and sons, while the sealing ordinance which bound together husbands and wives, parents and children, continued in force and efficacy throughout eternity; that through this key his own beloved mother and invalid wife, his father, brothers, sisters, all, would be his companions and associates throughout an active intelligent eternity. These principles hung suspended on the thread of his reasoning faculties which had been trained in the school of Protestant rejection of revelation.

Above all, he was confronted with the vast upheaval of all creeds and beliefs, Catholic and Protestant, contained in the declaration by the Prophet Joseph that God was a Being of personal dimensions and the prototype of Adam, whom He had created in "His own likeness and His own image." More unbelievable still, he must accept the statement that our Father, in the divine compassion He felt for His children, had graciously opened the locked door of vision and revelation, had Himself condescended to come and to bring with Him His Only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, who both appeared in the backwoods of a lowly farmer's home-place in western New York State in answer to the solemn petition of a youth who was praying for light and an answer to his natural question about the particular church which God would have him choose out of all the warring sects and creeds around him.

He listened to the reports and considered the testimony of already converted friends. "I weighed the matter studiously for nearly two years," he once declared, "before I made up my mind to receive that Book. I looked at it on all sides. All other religions I could fathom . . . but this new one I reasoned on month after month, until I came to a certain knowledge of its truth. Had this not been the case I never would have embraced it to this day. I wished time sufficient to prove all things for myself." He told of his own conversion by answering his daughter who had expressed a longing desire to know that the Gospel was true, that Jesus was the Christ and that Joseph Smith was divinely ordained to re-establish His Church in latter days; not merely to hope and try to believe it, but to know as her father *knew* its truth. He said, "Daughter, there is only one way to find it out. And that is the way I found it out and the way your mother found it. Get down on your knees and ask God to give you that testimony and knowledge which Peter had when Christ asked the Apostles: 'Whom do ye say I am?' "

Finally, on April 14, 1832, when he was thirty-one years of age, he was baptised into the Church at Mendon, Monroe County, New York. After his own acceptance of the new Gospel, he was instrumental in bringing about the conversion of all his brothers and sisters, his aged father, and his own dying wife. Alas, she enjoyed the earthly membership of the new Church only a few weeks before she passed away on September 8, 1832. Brief as was the period, her soul was nevertheless lifted to God in transports of joy and gratitude so that the sting of death was taken away, and she died rejoicing in the sure knowledge of a divine family re-union in that heaven which would be a glorious home for husband, wife, parents and children. Her two little girls were taken into the household of

Brigham Young's life-long friend and associate, Heber C. Kimball, and here he lived when not travelling and preaching.

He spent a portion of the winter of 1832–33 in and around West Labora, Canada, baptising and organising branches of the new Church, which was now gathering in volume, strength, and members, though only organised three years previously, on April 6, 1830. In July, 1833, Brigham Young was commissioned by the Prophet to gather converts from the western part of New York State and lead them to Kirtland, a little town on Lake Erie, not far from Cleveland, Ohio. The Prophet had been led and driven by circumstances and by revelation to this place and it became the headquarters of the Church.

Missionaries were sent out to all the surrounding country, east and west, and to the extreme borders of the wilderness around the Mississippi River. Branches of the Church were established in many places in the State of New York and elsewhere. At this time also the saints were building up branches of the Church at Independence, Jackson County, in Missouri, and the site of the great Centre Temple of Zion there to be erected at some future time had been dedicated with solemn ceremonies.

All of these activities were punctuated by constant persecution. There were attacks from mobs, and Joseph Smith was arrested on every conceivable pretext; some bitter, some scornful, all of them attempts to thwart the growth and spread of the restored Gospel. It was into this fiercely whirling maelstrom of action and re-action that Brigham Young and his whole family—his two motherless children, father, brothers and sisters—together with his true and beloved friend, Heber C. Kimball, had entered to take active part.

During the winter of 1833–34, Brigham Young was sent by the Prophet back and forth on various missions. While in Kirtland he met another fine New England convert of Puritan stock, Mary Ann Angell, a daughter of James and Phoebe

Morten Angell. She was a member of the Free Will Baptists and a Sunday School teacher. Her study of the Scriptures, especially the prophecies, so engrossed her mind, that she confidently looked for their fulfilment, in consequence of which she resolved never to marry until she should meet a "a man of God," one in whom she could confide and with whom her heart could unite in the active duties of a Christian life. Thus it was that she remained single until nearly thirty years of age. She was married to Brigham Young on February 18, 1834, and became at once the kind mother, faithful, uncomplaining wife and friend to him and his family that she remained throughout her whole life.

In Kirtland, he built a comfortable home for his new wife and their growing family. She was both willing and capable of bearing the heavy load of major domestic responsibility, for she knew her husband was one of the Prophet's "minute men." She had need to be wise, prudent and brave, for her husband was constantly out on the "firing line." But wherever he was, Brigham Young studied the Scriptures, read history and such publications as were possible to secure, remembering the fundamental thought expressed by the Prophet Joseph, that "the glory of God is intelligence." In the winter of 1835–36, he attended the School of the Prophets at Kirtland, a school for adult study in which Professor Seixas, a learned Hebrew scholar, was employed to teach the Hebrew language; worked upon his own home, the school-house, printing office, and not least the Kirtland Temple, superintending its painting and finishing. The building, which still stands, is a chaste example of pure Colonial architecture and is a monument of devotion to art, to religion, and to a people who could and would undertake so costly an enterprise in their poverty and persecution.

From his baptism into the Church until 1835, Brigham Young laboured incessantly for the new religion that he had embraced. In the summers he travelled far and wide, preaching and expounding his beliefs; in the winters, he served the

Church in Kirtland as needs arose, and laboured with his hands to provide for his family. The persecutions that were poured upon the people he met bravely. All these events had much to do in shaping the subsequent course of his life. Then in 1835, came the events that determined his career of leadership.

# II

## EARLY ACTIVITIES IN THE CHURCH

Defence Corps Organised to Protect Missouri Saints—A Thousand-Mile Journey on Foot to Succour Distressed Brethren—Appointment of the Twelve Apostles—Dissension Within the Church—Upholds the Prophet's Authority—Driven Out of Kirtland—Mormon Settlements Attacked by Armed Mobs and Many Slain—Battle of Haun's Mill—Imprisonment of the Prophet and His Brother Hyrum—Dedication of Temple Site in Missouri—New Settlement Founded in Illinois—The City of Nauvoo—Missionary Journey to England.

BECAUSE of the harrowing and bloodthirsty attacks of lawless mobs in Ohio a number of saints had moved to Missouri. Here they had purchased land and settled, but only to meet with persecution anew. They were whipped, plundered and robbed of their possessions by men who hated them for their unpopular religion and their anti-slavery sentiments. So in the spring of 1834 the Prophet Joseph Smith organised what he called "Zion's Camp," a religio-military body, to redeem and rehabilitate the stricken saints in Jackson County, Missouri. This was increased on the way by another two hundred and the expedition proved an epoch in Church history. It was truly a testing time for the men who went out upon that humanitarian mission.

Brigham Young was among the foremost of those who participated. He made the entire journey of nearly one thousand miles, mostly on foot, always ready at the Prophet's call, never questioning his inspirational leadership, stimulating others through his own cheerful obedience to gather round the harassed leader—like loyal soldiers of the Cross. The epochal march of that Camp to relieve the mob-driven saints in Missouri and to pioneer a new refuge for the Ohio saints who were likewise harried and persecuted is an American history page that has never been properly written. Women there were in the Camp whose courage and fidelity put to shame the occasional grumblers and rebels against the Prophet. Music cheered them at times, and the sweet singing of the Young brothers was especially enjoyed by the Prophet.

On their return to Kirtland, the Prophet was inspired to choose twelve apostles, and these were selected from those who were members of Zion's Camp. This body is the next quorum in authority after the First Presidency. Brigham Young was third in seniority of appointment, being ordained February 14, 1835.

During the eight years of its occupancy by the saints, Kirtland was the scene of marvellous spiritual providences, glorious revelations, swift civic growth, temple building and financial experiments. But it was coupled with bitter persecutions, hostile efforts to slay the Prophet, mobs tarring and feathering him, and law suit after law suit. Mingled with all this outward hatred and abuse was the deflection of a number of apostles and leading men. No doubt the Prophet found it as much of a problem to listen to all his would-be counsellors in the Church with their various cries of "lo here," and "lo there," as it was to escape and evade his declared enemies. His Church enemies claimed he had favourites; he was no business man; he had lost touch with God. They were ambitious men who would take honour to themselves and rule in his stead.

During this trying period, when bitter apostasy turned several of the apostles into vindictive accusers of the maligned leader, Brigham Young never faltered. Without hesitancy he denounced the traitors, strengthened the doubting, weak-kneed and trembling believers.

At this time some of the apostles and leading men who through ambition had been disaffected held a council meeting in the upper room of the Temple, when the question before them was to ascertain how the Prophet Joseph could be de-posed. "I rose up," records Brigham Young in his journal, "and in a plain and forcible manner told them that Joseph was a Prophet, and I knew it. Though they might rail and slander him as much as they pleased they could not destroy the appointment of the Prophet of God; they could only destroy their own authority, cut the thread that bound them to the Prophet and to God, and sing themselves to hell. Many were highly enraged at my decided opposition to their measures, and Jacob Bump (an old pugilist) was so exasperated that he could not sit still. Some of the brethren near him put their hands on him and requested him to be quiet, but he writhed and twisted his arms and body saying, 'How can I keep my hands off that man.' I told him if he thought it would give him any relief that he might lay them on. The meeting was broken up without the apostates being able to unite on any decided measure of opposition. This was a crisis when earth and hell seemed leagued to overthrow the Prophet and the Church of God."

Because of the bold stand he took in upholding the Prophet, Brigham Young was obliged to leave Kirtland. "I left on the morning of December 22, 1837," he records, "in consequence of the fury of the mob and the spirit that prevailed in the apostates, who had threatened to destroy me because I would proclaim, publicly and privately, that I knew, by the power of the Holy Ghost, that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of the Most High God, and had not transgressed and fallen as apostates declared."

When Brigham Young entered Kirtland in 1832, he turned over his property to the Church as he wanted no financial ties to bind him. When he was driven out of there five years later he owned much property, of which he was entirely dispossessed by the mob.

The Church as a body removed from Ohio to Missouri in the early spring of 1838. Their sojourn as a people in that state, however, was brief and stormy. At that time this was literally the outpost of western civilisation and the Missourians were —many of them at least—refugees from the law and all of them intolerant and hot headed. From the Governor down they hated the peaceful, industrious, cleanly New England farmer Mormons who worked, minded their own business, voted almost as a unit, and always against slave-holding or slave-driving bosses political or otherwise. Neither the Prophet nor his followers believed in slavery, and this brought them animosity and hatred, if there were no other reason, from their Missouri neighbours. Secret societies were formed to expel the Mormons from Missouri. Religious bigotry, difference of political views and the jealousy of former settlers towards newcomers may be given as the causes of the great persecution which followed the people while in that state.

The mob spirit begun in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in the month of June, 1830, when the Church was but a few months old, had followed the Prophet and his associates to Colesville, Ohio, in July and August, 1830; to break out anew at Hiram, Portage County, Ohio, in March, 1832. While tarrying one night at the latter place the Prophet was dragged out of his house by a mob, who tore him out of his wife's arms, carried him into an adjoining meadow, tarred and feathered him and and put aquafortis (nitric acid) in his mouth. Sidney Rigdon was treated with the same indignities. The Prophet, however, undaunted by this brutal treatment, preached the next day with his flesh all scarified and defaced, and proved the folly of persecution, by baptising three new converts at the close of the services.

Sweeping over to Missouri in 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1836, the persecution brought death and destruction of men, women, and children on farms and settlements in Clay and Jackson Counties. Both the newspapers of the Latter Day Saints were stopped, their printing press confiscated, the bishop tarred and feathered, and a massacre took place, during which men, women and children were slain by disguised yelling demons who assaulted the peaceful community.

At Gallatin, Daviess County, on election day, August 6, 1838, the mob gathered around the Mormon voters, and finding threats and sneers not enough to deter them, entered into open warfare with them. The affair was finally made the basis, not of inquiry, but of an exterminating order by Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, and there followed attack upon attack. The little village of De Witt, in Carroll County, was besieged, the saints expelled, and then an official desperado ordered an assault upon the settlement at Far West, in Caldwell County. Here David W. Patten, one of the apostles in charge of the Missouri settlements, was killed. He had attempted to lead a defence company of men formed in front of their homes, and was shot down with the first broadside from the mob. Two other men were killed and ten were seriously wounded. An attempt was made by General David R. Atchinson to stem the mobocratic lawlessness, but his written appeal to Governor Boggs went unheeded. Boggs listened only to apostates, to those who wanted to rid the state of these northern sympathizers, and who were eagerly hoping to seize the improved lands and homes made by the industrious Mormons.

Finally, at Haun's Mill, about twelve miles from Far West, in October, 1838, an armed force gathered under the permission of Boggs, who had said openly: "The quarrel is between the mob and the Mormons, let them fight it out;" and whose exterminating order contained such iniquitous statements as: "The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State." Such a military mob led by the human butcher, Colonel William D. Jennings, rode down the hill to Haun's Mill on that peaceful day, and opened fire immediately upon the little settlement, slaying men, women and children—eighteen of them. One of the slain was an old revolutionary soldier, Thomas McBride; one was a lad of ten, Sardius Smith, who had crawled under the bellows in the blacksmith's shop. The savage white murderer remarked, as he perpetrated his dastardly deed: "Nits will make lice, and if he lives he'll be a Mormon." Then followed pillage and robbery, stripping of the dead and shouting in glee as they rode off with their booty.

Then had come the Prophet from Kirtland, to appeal for redress and to protect the saints. Instead he was seized, flung into jail and he and his brother Hyrum were there detained for months and submitted to endless insults and indignities on a "trumped up" charge of "treason, murder, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny and perjury." They were imprisoned in jail in Liberty (note the irony of the name) and were subjected to every known insult to crown the personal trials of tarring and feathering, whipping and near-drowning suffered especially by the Prophet.

The following testimony of Hyrum Smith, gives a vivid picture of these persecutions: "The same jury as sat in the day time were placed over us as a guard at night. They tantalised us and boasted of their great achievements at Haun's Mill and at other places, telling us how many houses they had burned, and how many sheep, cattle and hogs they had driven off belonging to the Mormons." They boasted of their unspeakable crimes in the most vile and filthy language; and left no stone unturned to complete the mental anguish of their suffering prisoners.

In the fall of 1838 about 15,000 of the saints scattered throughout Clay County and the adjoining counties, were driven out, many perishing from wounds and bruises, want and exposure. There were 12,000 people in Caldwell County alone, where most of the trouble had occurred. It was an army of stricken and helpless refugees to handle. The Battle of Crooked River and Haun's Mill Massacre had paralysed the poor saints who were in Missouri; the Prophet and Patriarch were in prison; David W. Patten, second of the Twelve, was killed. At this juncture, Thomas B. Marsh, the senior or President of the Twelve Apostles, apostatised from the Church (to return broken and humiliated many years later), leaving Brigham Young as the Senior or President of the Quorum.

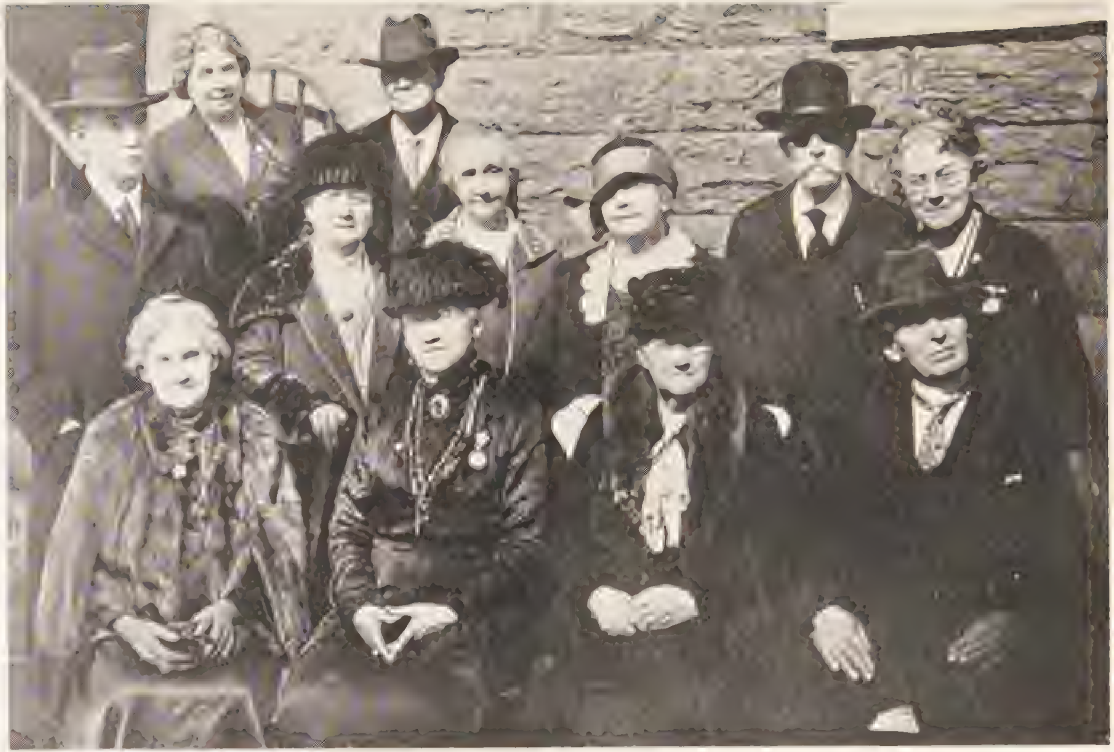
Before leaving the State of Missouri, Brigham Young again demonstrated his courage and loyalty. A prophecy and commandment of the Lord to Joseph Smith was that they should begin laying the foundation for a Temple in Far West, April 26, 1839. The Prophet was in jail and the mob had sworn that this prophecy should not be fulfilled. But Brigham Young called the apostles, five of whom were able to respond, set out for Far West, reached the spot at daybreak and, according to instructions, the brethren held a conference, ordained Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith as apostles, cut off thirteen apostates from the Church, dismissed the meeting, and the people all quietly dispersed before anyone was aware of their presence.

At this critical time, when the Prophet and about seventy of his associates were held as prisoners, came the infamous final exterminating order of Governor L. W. Boggs, who gave the Mormons three days to leave the State of Missouri, or be delivered over to death. Brigham Young, who had been appointed by the Prophet to superintend the removal of the saints from Missouri, was away from home at the time. His wife with the two step-children and her eldest boy, Joseph, with the baby twins, Brigham Junior and little Mary, were alone in Far West.

Mary was a gentle sweet little creature whose life was brief yet none the less beautiful. She was brought to death's door through an accident which was the direct result of these mobbings and drivings of the saints. When the cruel exterminating order came, Sister Young, undaunted by the absence of her husband and protector, procured a wagon and put what few movables she could crowd therein, and persuaded an Elder to help her to get away. She sat on the top of the load on her baggage and bedding with a baby on each arm, and three little children clinging to her skirts. Just as they started out, the wagon ran into a huge rut, and the baby girl was thrown out under the wheel. With a groan of dismay the driver picked up the bleeding bundle and laid it on the trembling mother's lap, with the remark that "the poor little thing could not live." Blood was pouring from mouth and nose. "Don't prophesy evil, brother, take the other baby!" cried the mother as she took the apparently lifeless form. With skilful hands she dressed the wounds, praying mightily all the while. Mary lived and grew to be the finest child of the family.

After the accident Sister Young travelled on for two days in her sorry plight; at the end of that time they were met by Brigham Young, who had come back for them in a wagon with two yoke of cattle. He immediately loaded them into his wagon. Herein he also placed Elder Orson Pratt and his family. They travelled thus for two days, reaching a small village. He endeavoured in vain to secure a house in which to leave them. None could be procured, but he found a stable, which he at once cleaned out and whitewashed, laying some boards on the floor, and making things as comfortable as he could. Into this stable he moved his own and Elder Pratt's family, leaving them there while he went back after more of the saints. He brought two families up to the little stable-house and leaving them there took his own and Elder Pratt's family a two days' journey farther on. Again and again he re-located them in different places along the way, and returned for the other families he had left at the stable in the village. In this way he moved four families from Far West to Quincy, in Illinois.

During this trying period Brigham Young left his own family eleven times to succour the poor and to assist the more helpless to get away from the howling mobs of Missouri. In similar manner was accomplished the removal of the people from Missouri to Illinois in the years 1838–39, necessitated by the constant mobbings and drivings by the prejudiced Missourians. The Prophet was held prisoner until November 1, 1838, when



LIVING SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

he was tried by court martial and condemned to death. But his jailers had more mercy than the officers of that government which his forefathers had fought for so valiantly, and they permitted him to escape.

After the saints had been driven out of Missouri, the Church purchased a large tract of land named Commerce, Hancock County, in Illinois, and there they began to build a city. At that time, in the spring of 1839, Commerce was the merest outpost, just a group of two or three traders' huts located on a bluff of the Mississippi River. Here the first house was built in June, 1839; the town soon grew into a flourishing city and was rechristened Nauvoo, which means Beautiful.

The site, however, was an unhealthy one, for it was marshy land, and fever and ague were prevalent. An epidemic of malaria broke out among the poorly clad, ill-fed refugees. Brigham Young and his family who had obtained rooms in a broken-down military barrack at Montrose on the other side of the river, were stricken in common with nearly all the others. Here came the Prophet, according to Brigham Young's own story, to heal and to bless.

"Joseph arose from his bed of sickness, and the power of God rested upon him. He commenced in his own house and doorway, commanding the sick in the name of Jesus Christ, to arise, and be made whole, and they were healed according to the word. He then continued to travel from house to house and from tent to tent, upon the bank of the river, healing the sick as he went. . . . He walked into the cabin where I was lying sick, and commanded me, in the name of Jesus Christ, to arise and be made whole. I arose and was healed, and followed him and the brethren into the house of Elijah Fordham, who was supposed to be dying. He was commanded in the name of Jesus Christ, to arise and be made whole. The Prophet's voice was as the voice of God. Brother Fordham instantly leaped from his bed, called for his clothes, dressed, and followed us into the street. We went then into the house of Joseph B.

Nobles, who also lay very sick, and he was healed in the same manner."

The Prophet had taken the sick into his home until it was like a hospital; and he attended them until he was taken ill himself and confined to his bed for several days. However, he quickly instituted sanitary regulations, good drainage, and had exceeding care for cleanliness, such as the burning of refuse. Later, through the foresight and industry of these hardy settlers, sanitary laws were passed and Nauvoo became an ideal dwelling place.

It was the Prophet who laid out the streets in rectangular forms, directed the people to plant shade trees and beautiful flowers, and urged the building of schools, thus creating a magic-like civilisation in the heart of the wilderness. Within five years there were over twenty thousand saints settled in Nauvoo and surrounding villages, with school-houses, meeting-houses, stores, shops and outlying farms, crowning the prairie hills of Illinois at that spot. Nauvoo at that time was the largest city in Illinois; Chicago was but a trading post. An early traveller, who passed through there in the "forties" and studied the Mormon question, gives a very eloquent picture of the colony which at that time existed there. He describes the generosity of the Legislature of Illinois in granting a charter to Nauvoo for the Mormon militia, called the "Nauvoo Legion," of which the Prophet was appointed commander. He speaks of the Prophet being elected mayor of the city and noted that he was supreme in all matters, civil and military, as well as religious.

The mind of the Prophet had been moved upon in June, 1837, to open up a mission for proselytizing the European nations, beginning with Great Britain, and in that year four missionaries were sent over, headed by Heber C. Kimball. After Brother Kimball's return he was sent again with Brigham Young and in September, 1839, they left Nauvoo to continue that missionary work in Great Britain and Europe.

# III

## GROWTH IN THE CHURCH

Mission to England—Emigration of British Converts to the New Zion—The Doctrine of Baptism for the Dead—Celestial Marriages—Man's Pre-existence—Plural Marriages—Not Established by Brigham Young—Consent of First Wife—A Religious Versus Civil Practice—Church To-day Opposed to Plural Marriages.

When Brigham Young and his friend Heber C. Kimball started on their European missionary journey from Nauvoo in 1839 they both left sick families behind. They were also ill themselves, Brigham Young being too sick to climb into the wagon. They stopped at the home of Harriet Wheeler Decker, in Quincy, and this good lady took the quilt from her bed and wrapped it about the shoulders of Brigham Young, as his clothes were thin and very old. Mormon missionaries are unpaid and at that time they followed the Biblical injunction: "Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes; and salute no man by the way." The story of the overland trip to New York; of miles of walking with scanty provision for travel; of miraculous sums given at the moment when boats and ships were to be boarded; of food asked for and found, would fill a volume.

Speaking of his work in England, Brigham Young records: "I tarried in England twelve months and sixteen days, and under my supervision between eight and nine thousand persons were baptised (though some later apostatised) before we left. Churches were organised and an emigration scheme prepared. Ships were chartered and companies sailed out. When I landed in Liverpool I had six bits (three shillings) with which I purchased a hat. Within a twelve-month one of the finest vessels in the harbour tied up to carry myself and brethren across the water. The agents of the vessel said such a thing had never been done before, but they were anxious to oblige us, for we had chartered and fitted out several ships and as our emigration promised to be a large business they wanted to carry us home. In that twelve months we had printed in England five thousand copies of the Book of Mormon, three thousand hymn books, and commenced the *Millennial Star;* a publication which has continued to this day; over sixty thousand tracts had been distributed by the Elders in the towns they visited or at their meetings.

"I do not recollect spending more than one penny, needlessly, while in England, and that was for a bunch of grapes while passing through Smithfield Market, in Manchester. When I took them in my hand I saw women passing through the market who, I knew, were suffering from hunger. . . . I felt that I ought to have given that penny to the poor. Whenever I went from my office, if I neglected to take my pocketful of coppers to give to the poor mendicants which are everywhere to be met with, I would return to my desk and take a handful of coppers from the drawer, and as I walked along would give something to such objects of pity and distress as I met, and pass on without being hindered by them."

It was on June 6, 1840, that the very first company of European saints, consisting of forty souls, shipped from Liverpool; the second one sailed on September 8, 1840, with two hundred members on board. Thus began the vast movement of Mormon emigration which has brought over 100,000 members of the Church to America, chiefly to western America, from European shores. A plan to regulate this stream of emigrating thousands was suggested by the Prophet at the time, and was later crystallised by Brigham Young in Utah, and called the Perpetual Emigration Fund. Capital was raised by those in Utah and loaned to worthy emigrants, who in turn paid back to assist other worthy emigrants. This fund, begun in 1849, was operative until 1887, and by it many thousands were helped to find new homes in the Far West.

On April 21, 1841, Brigham Young and six of the leading brethren left Liverpool with a company of saints for America and the New West. "On my return from England," says Brigham Young, "I found my family living in a small, unfinished log cabin, situated in a low, wet lot in Nauvoo, so swampy that when the first attempt was made to plough it the oxen mired; but after the city was drained it became a very valuable garden plot.

"Although I had to spend the principal part of my time at the call of Brother Joseph in the service of the Church, the portion of time left me I spent in draining, fencing, and cultivating my lot, building a temporary shed for my cow, chinking and otherwise finishing my house; and as a cellar was needed underground, I built one with brick. Frost never penetrated it, although in summer articles would mildew in it."

His daily journal at this period is filled with items concerning his going here and there to examine lands, to plan cities, and to send out heralds of the Gospel. He and other apostles were called upon in a Council Meeting of the Church "to take the burden of the business of the Church, especially as pertaining to Church lands and settling the saints on their arrival," in order to relieve the load resting so heavily on the shoulders of the harassed Prophet and leader. Among other activities came his election to the city council.

While Brigham Young was away in England in the winter of 1841, the Prophet was commanded by the Lord to build another Temple to His name, and it was then that he received further revelations concerning the principle of baptism for the dead. In a letter on this subject the Prophet wrote: "The doctrine of baptism for the dead was certainly practised by the ancient churches and St. Paul endeavours to prove the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, and says: 'Else what shall they do which are baptised for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptised for the dead?' Great was his joy when on returning home from his foreign mission he learned that the Prophet was inspired to connect him closely with this avenue of missionary labour. On November 8, 1841, he was called upon to dedicate the newly-constructed font in the Temple basement: "The first font erected and dedicated for the baptism of the dead in this dispensation."

In the following May the Prophet introduced to a few selected leaders of the Church the divine rituals and ceremonies which comprise the blessings and covenants of the Temple ceremonies. These latter are called the Endowments and pertain to man's knowledge of life in a pre-existent state; the journey of life on Earth; and life and progression in the Hereafter. In addition to these ceremonies, marriages and baptisms are performed. The ordinances are most beautiful and uplifting. They are participated in by righteous members only and are sacred rather than secret. It is noteworthy that in all these ceremonies the wife was and is endowed, sealed and blessed side by side with her husband. Indeed, it is impossible for a man, as for a woman, to receive the highest blessings alone; "neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord."

On his return from a brief eastern trip on Church business in July, 1843, Brigham Young attended a council meeting held at the Prophet's home where Elders Young, Kimball, and George A. Smith were present, when the doctrine of celestial marriage as revealed to the Prophet was expounded to them. The marriage ceremony in the Christian world is bounded only by time—"till death do ye part." Nor is it solemnised by one holding the authority from God to "seal on earth and it shall be sealed in Heaven, to loose on earth and it shall be loosed in heaven."

The revelation rests upon the glorious principle of the eternity of the marriage covenant. The union of man and woman, when solemnised by one holding the authority to seal for time and the endless ages of eternity, is of eternal binding force. Children born of that union will remain in the patriarchal family group for ever, unless individuals forfeit the blessings through breaking the laws of chastity, of loyalty, or are guilty of the crime of murder.

The fundamental truth of the Gospel rests upon the eternal nature of man, and concerns itself with the eternity of the family relationship. The heavenly family, our Father, our Mother, the Divine Son, together with all the brothers and sisters of Jesus, from Adam and Eve to the last child born on earth, constitute the past, present and future glory of God. As with the heavenly family so with the earthly family. In the resurrection, husbands and wives with their children will, where worthy of exaltation, preserve and enlarge their united relations for ever and ever.

The Prophet taught that life did not, could not originate or be created on this earth. The life of plant and animal, as that of man himself, is eternal. Each spirit, clothed as it may be in an earthly tabernacle, is co-existent with God, our Father. The earth-life is our second estate, and we pass on from experience to experience, from glory to glory throughout the countless ages of eternity—if we *will* to progress rather than to retrograde. Our priceless possession is our *free agency,* and we may use it as we will. The whole purpose and concern of God and His Son Jesus Christ, is to help His children to know truth and obey law; to progress throughout eternity.

The glory of God is to bring to pass the salvation and exaltation of His children. If His happiness centres in His children, so much more does that of His earthly children who bear and rear their children revolve around the family altar. "His course is one eternal round." All men should be privileged to become husbands and fathers in righteousness. All women should be blessed with wifehood and motherhood.

Understanding the eternal nature of man, and that his progression is from sphere to sphere, from life existence to life existence, then the right to be born on earth and partake of a mortal tabernacle becomes a priceless privilege for the spirits yet unborn. For they cannot partake of the next "glory" of the world beyond this until they have become possessed of a mortal tabernacle. Therefore, does man become a solemn partner with his Maker in providing tabernacles for the waiting spirits—spiritual children of our Heavenly Father. Parenthood is, therefore, akin to Godhood, in so far as it is righteous in inception and development. "Children are an heritage of the Lord" taught both ancient and modern prophets. The Prophet's mind was enlightened to understand these great truths and these he taught to his followers.

The privilege of having more than one woman sealed to the same husband is not by any means a corollary of the sealing law. Indeed, all couples married in the Temples are and always have been sealed for time and for eternity.

Plurality of wives is entirely Biblical and was permitted by our Heavenly Father in this dispensation solely for the purpose of giving mortal tabernacles through a worthy lineage to spirits who are waiting on the Other Side for that glorious privilege and who cannot advance until they are possessed of mortal tabernacles. Thus parenthood becomes a solemn privilege and thus that order of marriage was held as a religious sacrament to all those who lived it in righteousness. If undertaken merely for unworthy physical reasons it would and did destroy those who practised it.

William Clayton, a clerk in the Prophet's employ, who wrote the revelation concerning plural marriage at the Prophet's dictation, made the following statement some years later in Salt Lake City: "One day in the month of February, 1843, the Prophet invited me to walk with him. . . . This was the first time he talked with me on the subject of plural marriage. He informed me that the doctrine and principle was right in the sight of our Heavenly Father, and that it was a doctrine which pertained to Celestial order and glory." In the following July Brother Clayton wrote out the revelation at the Prophet's dictation which was read by several of the authorities of the Church.

It is generally believed in the outside world that Brigham Young introduced the principle of plural marriage into the Church after the martyrdom of the Prophet. This is untrue. The grandnephew of the Prophet, Joseph Fielding Smith, son of the late Pres. Joseph F. Smith, writes in his recently published history of the Church: "The doctrine of Plural Marriage was made known to the Prophet as early as the summer of 1831, and by him was taught to a few others, but it was not practised until the Lord commanded it. Secrecy was imposed until such time as He saw fit for its introduction. When the Prophet was commanded to practise this principle, he hesitated and deferred taking action for some time. To do so was one of the greatest trials of his life. He knew the doctrine was in conflict with the traditions and teachings of the world and would arouse increased persecution; moreover, his own prejudices were in opposition to the doctrine. However, the Lord had commanded Him and he must act." No matter what people may think to the contrary the matter was viewed with profound dread and dismay by the men and women who first received and practised it.

Brigham Young as one of the great defenders of the Prophet would naturally be one of the first to whom this revealed truth would be made known. He could not deny that the practice was entirely Biblical and he could not deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God. To accept one truth was to accept all. However, his natural Puritanic chastity of mind and spirit revolted at this principle; yet once accepted, it must enter into his life's experience.

A few of the leading men and women accepted the principle and following the example and counsel of the Prophet, entered into the Patriarchal Order of Marriage with the full approval of their first wives, taking their other wives into their homes or arranging separate homes where possible.

Some of his associates waited not for counsel or permission. They set themselves up as arbiters of their own destiny and corrupted women under pretence of following the Prophet's example. These apostates from the Church would not and could not accept nor comprehend the difference between unbridled licence and that Order which is inspired and accepted as an eternal contract between two or more parties binding them to rear families and to support and sustain virtue, sobriety and unselfish justice. The man who elects to become a law unto himself puts himself without the pale of earthly and divine government. Of such were Joseph's enemies.

In this as in every vital truth of the revealed word of God, Brigham Young was not slow to make action follow upon the heels of belief in the teachings of the modern Prophet. He married Miriam Works first in 1824. Left a widower in 1832 he married Mary Ann Angell as this narrative has shown. He was sealed by the Prophet, and with full approval of "Mother" Mary Ann, to Lucy Wheeler Decker, on June 15, 1842. Harriet Cook Campbell was also sealed to him by the Prophet, June, 1843, and Clara Decker, sister of Lucy Decker, was sealed to him on May 8, 1844.

The associates of the Prophet, especially the men nearest him in council, accepted, as did Brigham Young, the principle of Celestial and of Plural Marriage, as of divine origin. Some, indeed, there may have been, whose motives, human complexes that they were, savoured quite as much of physical as of spiritual reactions. Any such soon discovered that marriage solemnly entered into with attendant family burden-bearing definitely assumed, involved vast mental resources of self-control and self-denial, varied with occasional emotional tempests. Yankee-bred women were "individuals" and there were no age-old Oriental backgrounds of traditions and domestic regulatory usage in that day.

Any man who fancied that the women of his household would have the heavy end of the trouble-balance while he soared into easy indulgence was due for a rude awakening. Mormon women were persons, not a sex-group. The man soon found that his particular life-job was that of domestic moderator. What he most wanted was a mere bagatelle compared to the insistently declared desires of two or more wives. Any man who then or thereafter made what might be termed "a success" of Plural Marriage had an instinctive well-poised character, a keen sense of human values, and an abiding trust in the divinity of the revelation with an accompanying trust in God. The women who accepted it rightly were noble in spirit, unselfish and ready to forget and forgive. They reasoned: better a part of a pure and a devoted man's love, than all of a corrupt or even a selfish, sordid man's companionship.

Our Father in heaven may not be the Avenger of the broken commandments which He has committed to His earthly children; but He knows all law, is governed by law and cannot in the nature of law act independently of law and its fulfilment. Men and women who keep righteous law reap the blessings. Those who break God's law, which is the enunciation of divine, eternal principle, suffer the consequences. The Prophet taught all these truths in their plainness and simplicity. His associate Elders knew, according to their intelligent capacities, that the vital principle of marital relations could be assumed and maintained righteously only on the principle of justice and rigid virtue in both parties. Few men, comparatively speaking, chose to assume the domestic burdens involved in this marital order; never more than four per cent. Those who did were as a rule of the best type of citizens. Their lives, their families and descendants, even to the sixth and seventh generations, are the best existing testimony of the nobility and purity of their motives and of their parenthood.

If it required courage, self-control and faith on the part of the men who entered that Order of Marriage; what of the women? They, whose age-long traditions, fierce maternal jealousies and emotional reactions rendered them at once a prey to their own suspicious watchfulness and sex-selfishness? Only faith could sustain them in this modern domestic innovation. Reason was invoked only at the call of prayer; tolerance was possible alone when faith held the anchor. That these brave women succeeded in establishing individual friendly contacts with the other wives; nay, at times actually achieved lasting, close friendships with one another and the children of the household, is a monument to them, while it also constitutes the best argument in support of the sacred character of that one-time Marital Order. There were heroines in those days!

Very few of all these plural wives in the Church ever invoked public condemnation of that Order through press or on platform; while the percentage of divorces, always very easy to obtain, was so small as to be negligible. There was as little domestic unhappiness in that Order, nay less, strange as that may sound, than in the monogamic form of marriage. Yet these women were intelligent, alert to truth, wide of vision and progressive American citizens.

It was expected, nay required, that the consent and approval of the first wife to the entrance of another wife in the home be obtained. As a rule this was done; where men failed, disaster and confusion resulted, unless the first wife was bigger-minded, nobler-hearted than her unwise husband. Not a few happy plural families owed much of their peace and harmony to the generous and saintly character of the "first wife." But there was no discrimination as to the order of entrance into the family. The last wife had as many privileges as the first. They were equal in all matters in the home and before the law.

The home life in Nauvoo flowed calmly and steadily about the hurrying, harassed feet of the men who planted and sowed, hammered and forged, travelled and preached. This toil of mind and strain of body dropped away when tired husband and father stepped over the threshold of those homes, where peace and faith kept the hearth fire bright and the altar-flame constant. Those wives, mothers and restless-bodied children knew the joy of true home-building and pure soul expansion. Struggle, toil, trouble, sickness, death, persecution, scorn, all these reactionary wave forces might swirl and beat about the outer walls of their homes, but were never allowed to enter within the sacred portals which guarded the love and confidence of hearts united for earthly and heavenly existence. The women baked and churned, scrubbed and spun, coloured and wove with their little ones about their knees and all sharing, according to size and strength the family burdens. They were happy and busy.

The foregoing statement of authenticated fact is in no sense an advocacy of present-day plural marriage. For to-day sees the Mormon Church as faithfully committed to the monogamic form of marriage, as it was to another form in past years.

It is a long page of Church history which covers the efforts of the American Government to compel the Mormon Church to abandon that form of marriage. The Church claimed that plural marriage was a vital part of their religion, while the Government insisted that it was a civil practice only. That is the very rock upon which marriage is splitting into fragments in the Christian world to-day. Congress ignored petitions, listened to no appeals. The Edmunds law of 1882 made the contracting of plural marriage and living in that order, punishable by law. Contested again and again, the Supreme Court finally declared the law constitutional. Meanwhile prosecution, persecution and imprisonment occurred, and Church property was escheated and the leaders imprisoned.

The practice of plural marriage was accepted as a sacrament, however, and God knew the people were honest and true.

But the laws of the land must be obeyed. No community can exist without just laws which all must obey; and the saints had always held the law in respect. It is a cardinal principle of their religion to honour and obey all the laws of the land in which they live.

Then came a revelation to President Wilford Woodruff in 1890 that the people were no more required to enter into that order of marriage. The Church in solemn assembly accepted President Woodruff's Manifesto in 1890, prohibiting plural marriages, and the members who wish to retain standing and fellowship in the Church are bound to accept and abide by that action.

There were a few members of the Church—which is built on man's use of his own free agency—who refused to give assent to the termination of that order of marriage. However, the Church had ruled and the people voted to sustain the new revelation. Those who since that time have refused to abide by that law are not only out of harmony with the Church but are excommunicated from its membership. It must be remembered that never more than a small minority of the people ever practised this order of marriage.

As might be surmised, marriage in a Church that seals husband and wife together for all eternity is a very solemn affair. Young people have always been taught that marriage is a holy sacrament and a necessary part of mortal experience as well as a glorious privilege and a source of incomparable earthly and heavenly joy when lived righteously.

Without love, men and women cannot serve each other and certainly may not serve God. Yet if any man or woman wishes freedom from Church or family ties within the fold of Christ, let them but announce that desire, and every door is opened. The sealing power given to Peter and to Joseph Smith has the key to "bind on earth and it shall be bound in heaven; to loose on earth and it shall be loosed in heaven."

Brigham Young used to say that the cause for divorce, was a bitter estrangement of the heart, brought about in practically all cases through the selfishness, drunkenness, adultery or cruelty of the husband. But it is readily granted also that women, being human, may and do give vent to their selfish desires and through wilful inefficiency give cause for permanent estrangement of affection. Therefore, separations are possible for unworthiness or deep-seated incompatibility. A man who might complain was first reprimanded and taught to remove the cause of his own conduct. So with the woman.

For just cause, men and women under all circumstances are given divorce, but they are taught that it must be a last resort, granted after all means of prevention have failed. Contrary to the customs of some communities, the women here are not the sole sufferers under such circumstances; for no possible disgrace is attached to the divorced wife, unless her own acts have disgraced her. She and her children are almost invariably sheltered in some other good man's home, through a second honourable and congenial marriage.

# IV

## HIS CALL TO LEADERSHIP

Joseph Smith as a Candidate for the Presidency of the United States—His Christian and Statesmanlike Policy—Martyrdom of the Prophet—Chaotic Conditions in Nauvoo—Rival Claims to Leadership—People Called to Decide—Mantle of the Prophet Falls upon Brigham Young—The Doctrine of "Common Consent"—Church Activities Resumed—A Leader at the Helm.

DESPITE the persecutions which were meted out to the saints and the threat upon the life of their Prophet Joseph Smith he nevertheless decided in the spring of 1843 to accede to the wishes of his loyal friends and allow his name to be put forward as a candidate for the office of President of the United States. His people held the balance of power in Illinois because of their numbers and unity on fundamental issues, such as slavery. That and their unpopular religion, together with their anti-slavery sympathies made them hated and feared by their rough southern neighbours. Letters had been addressed by the Prophet to the various Presidential candidates with especial reference to his people's persecuted condition. None responded with any assurances of protection. Hence the people of Nauvoo decided to put up their own candidate.

When the Prophet consented to accept the nomination he prepared his platform. It is one of the most statesmanlike documents ever propounded. The principles of justice to black man and white man, of economy, of philanthropy and of loyalty to the government are far ahead of his time. Briefly they were: Slavery should be abolished, slave-holders to be paid for their slaves by the general government; money for this purpose to be raised by the sale of public lands; the abolition of imprisonment for debt and for all other crimes save murder; work on public improvements to be made the penalty for all other law-breakers; penitentiaries to be turned into seminaries of learning; investment of power in the President of the United States to suppress mobs; the extension of the United States, with the consent of the Red man, from sea to sea; the annexation of Texas, all of California and Oregon, which was then Mexican territory, with other districts, when they should ask for annexation into the United States. These were the outstanding points, yet other excellent ones there were.

It was this document and the accompanying political propaganda which formed the chief mission laid upon the majority of the Twelve Apostles and many of the leading Elders who were to be sent forth to cover the Eastern States in their travels. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball left Nauvoo in May, 1844. This political trip was rather unusual for Brigham Young yet he combined the preaching of the Gospel so ardently with the candidacy of the Prophet that every link in the chain was welded close. For so did the matter appear to him. No man need hearken, unless he desired, and no candidate would so nobly offer complete religious and political freedom as his candidate, if elected.

He held meetings in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Kirtland, where he found the people unsympathetic and lukewarm. At last he reached Boston where he and Wilford Woodruff heard the terrible news that the Prophet and his brother Hyrum had been assassinated in Carthage Jail. Both were filled with gloomy sadness and a thick pall of darkness hung over them. When Brigham Young retired that night he threw himself on the bed and wept as only a man can weep when overpowered by his emotions.

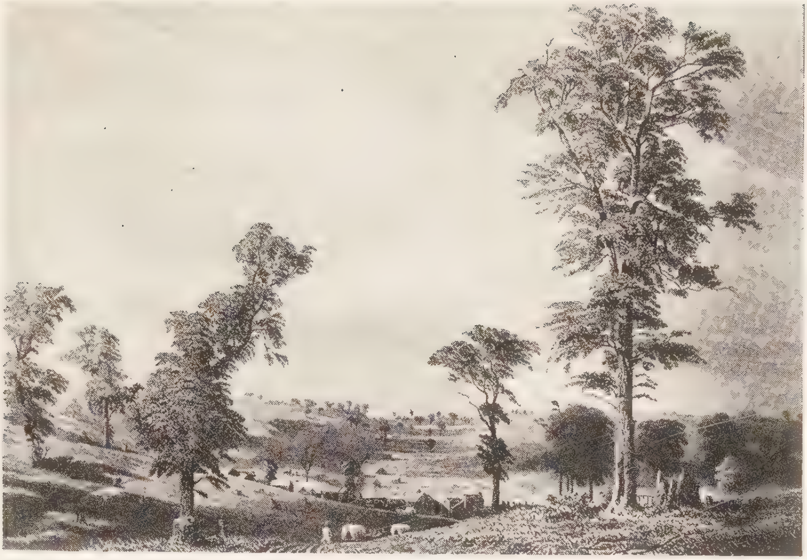
Plans were immediately made to return to Nauvoo, and while waiting in Boston for other members of the Twelve, his daughter Vilate records how she was with him on the street when a newsboy passed calling out: "Joe Smith's dead and the devil's broken-hearted." She saw her father's face turn pallid and he swayed a moment on his feet.

In writing of this period, most Church historians dwell only upon the dramatic events which followed upon the arrival of the Twelve in Nauvoo on August 6, 1844. But the fancy lingers with Brigham Young in the long days which lay between Boston and Nauvoo. He knew that he had been glad to sink his own personality in the absorbing glow which surrounded every word and act of the Prophet. He was the Prophet's witness, as Joseph was the witness of the Saviour. He had left to others the dramatics and pyrotechnics of public life. He had not been, in any sense, a dominant Nauvoo figure. President of the Twelve Apostles he was, and so deeply engaged in carrying forward the vast number of mighty projects and plans of his File-leader that he had had no time and less desire to institute any new ones of his own. He had proved himself an ideal follower. Now, his own hour had struck.

The assassination of the Prophet and his brother, while most of the Twelve were scattered in different parts of the East and Canada, was the most dastardly and cowardly outrage perpetrated in modern times. Not the lynchings of the South, nor the Puritan witchcraft persecutions could equal the official cowardice, the fierce brutality and long-considered butchery which deprived a whole people of their leaders.

The Prophet, who was mayor of Nauvoo, under authority of the Nauvoo City Council, had ordered the City Marshal to do away with the *Nauvoo Expositor* and to warn the publishers to leave Nauvoo. This apostate paper had published lies about good men, had threatened their lives and had incited mobs to pillage and murder. The city was placed under martial law. This was a pretext for the Prophet's arrest.

On a requisition of the Governor of the State, Thomas Ford, under promised protection of his military camp, these two men, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, gave themselves up in Nauvoo



NAUVOO, MISSOURI, AT THE TIME OF THE MORMON EXODUS

THE SITE OF THE MOUNTAIN MEADOW MASSACRE

to be taken for trial to Carthage, Illinois. Here they were incarcerated, placed under the traitorous charge of the soldiery, who listened while Governor Ford himself addressed the citizens of that place on the very day of the murder. Ford said to the assembled mob in Carthage: "A great crime has been done by destroying the *Nauvoo Expositor,* and placing the city of Nauvoo under martial law, and a severe atonement must be made; so prepare your minds for the emergency."

After his incendiary speech the Governor hurried away from Carthage, leaving the mob at liberty to wreak its political and religious vengeance. They rushed to the jail, and yelling like demons shot into the prison, killing Hyrum Smith and wounding John Taylor. As the Prophet sprang to the window they riddled him with bullets. His poor bleeding body fell out of the window which they instantly seized, and propping it against the curb of the well gored it again and again.

The bodies of the two Martyrs were taken to Nauvoo and a mock funeral was held. Two boxes were carried in a hearse to the graveyard and there deposited with the usual ceremonies. This course was adopted because the mob had sworn to steal the remains. That night a terrific storm came up and obliterated all traces of the make-believe graves. Meanwhile the bodies were interred in the basement of Nauvoo House till a later time when they were removed elsewhere.

Conditions in Nauvoo were chaotic. The people were without a leader. No one had thought it possible for the Prophet to be thus taken from their midst. John Taylor, the lion-hearted, was lying prostrate, wounded nigh unto death. Willard Richards, scholarly, peace-loving friend that he was, bore the burdens of the chaos about him almost alone. Parley P. Pratt, who reached Nauvoo several days before the others of the Twelve, has painted a graphic picture of the conditions then existing. William Marks had called a meeting of the High Council to consider the affairs of the Church. Parley P. Pratt went at once to the gathering and heard their proposal:

that they intended to take over the control of all public matters. He arose in this secret council meeting and said: "If you present any such proposition, I shall denounce you, and counsel the saints to wait until the Twelve and Brigham Young return." Three days later, August 8, a public meeting was to be held in the Bowery, when these plans were to be presented to the people.

But the date had been set, and the meeting called. Meanwhile Sidney Rigdon, who at one time had been the Prophet's counsellor but had repudiated his counsel and fled, returned to Nauvoo to lay claim to the leadership of the Church. Others also set up varying claims and all were anxious to get the whole thing settled before the return of the apostles.

To the dismay of Rigdon and his friends, Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff and Orson Pratt who were in the East at the time of the tragedy, arrived upon the scene.

The day of the great meeting came, and at the morning session Sidney Rigdon arose and entered upon a long, but rambling and disjointed, discourse, enlarging upon his claims to be made the guardian of the Church. Two hours and a half he pleaded and denounced. He talked much about the Mount of Olives, the Brook Kedron, Queen Victoria, great battles, but said little about Nauvoo or the Prophet Joseph. He had, in fact, lost all contact with the people, with facts, and above all, with the flame and torch of divine authority. Even his few friends were disillusioned.

When the people assembled for the afternoon session, Brigham Young had directed the seating according to priestly order, each quorum in its place. This, of itself, diffused a spirit of orderly sequence, and more than one sigh of relief went up from the multitude.

Suddenly they heard a clarion call: "Attention all!" It was the voice of Brigham Young. He had entered the pulpit unnoticed, after seating the people. Here he arose for the first time to present himself as a dominant factor in Church affairs.

Few knew him well, for he had faithfully subordinated himself to his lost leader and Prophet. It is doubtful if he knew himself. It is doubtful if he thought about himself. His concern was with God and the people.

A miracle was needed. And a miracle was wrought.

For this humble follower of Christ was clothed with the very appearance, the very voice and manner of the martyred Prophet. The people, thousands of them, bore witness to this event then and in after years. "It is Joseph!" they whispered to each other, many of them weeping as they looked and listened.

"It was the first sound of his voice that the people had heard since he had gone east on his mission, and the effect upon them was most wonderful," records George Q. Cannon. "Who that were present on that occasion can ever forget the impression it made upon them? If Joseph had risen from the dead, and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have been more startling than it was to the many present at that meeting; it was the voice of Joseph himself; and not only was it the voice of Joseph which was heard, but it seemed in the eyes of the people as though it was the very person of Joseph which stood before them. The Lord gave his people a testimony that left no room for doubt, as to who was the man He had chosen to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears; and then the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy.

"There had been gloom, and in some hearts, probably doubt and uncertainty; but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead."

"When I came to this stand," said Brigham Young in the course of his remarks, "I had peculiar feelings and impressions. The faces of the people seemed to say: 'We want a shepherd to guide us through this world.' Then I told them whoever wanted to draw away from the Church let them do it if they choose, but they would not prosper. They would find there was a power with the Apostles which would carry the work off victoriously and which would build and defend the Church and Kingdom of God in all the world. What do the people want? I want the privilege of weeping and mourning for thirty days at least, and then rising up and telling the people what the Lord wants of them. Although my heart is too full of mourning to launch out into business transactions and into the organisations of the Church, I feel compelled this day to step forth and discharge all those duties God has placed upon me."

Rigdon's claim was met by Brigham Young's calm assertion that "he did not care who presided over the Church, even though it were Ann Lee (the originator of the Shaker sect), but he would have to know what the Lord said about it. Joseph had conferred upon the heads of the Twelve," he continued, "all the keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come."

Not only was it necessary that he himself should have this conviction, but it should be possessed by every man, woman and child. The Church of Jesus Christ is not a one-man Church, nor does it belong to any set of men, but to every child of God who understands the truth and follows in Christ's footsteps. This great truth was revealed to the Prophet in 1830, three months after the Church was organised, and is embodied in the doctrine of "Common Consent." It is the basis of the connecting link between the divine will and human free will or agency. It permitted Lucifer to rebel in the Council of Heaven and to draw after him a third part of the host of heaven. It was the keynote of the Saviour's acceptance of His Father's will rather than His own, both in heaven and while He was upon the earth. Every man must have freedom of choice. No Church is less priest-ridden than the "Mormon"

Church and no Church has such a universally extended priesthood as has this Church. For all good men hold the priesthood, not a chosen few. It must always be so in the true Church of Christ.

Brigham Young understood this principle. "Joseph was the President of the Church as long as he lived because the people chose to have it so," he declared to the assembly. "He always filled that responsible position by the voice of the people. Can you find," he went on, "any revelation appointing him the president of the Church? The keys of the priesthood were committed to Joseph to build up the Kingdom of God on the earth, and were not to be taken from him in time or eternity. But when he was called to preside over the Church it was by the voice of the people; though he held the keys of the priesthood independent of their voice." The holding of priestly keys and powers does not carry the authority to preside over the Church, to govern or to function in the offices of that priesthood except by the consent of the people.

"I will ask you as quorums," said Brigham Young to the saints before him: "Do you want Brother Rigdon to stand forward as your leader, your guide, your spokesman? President Rigdon wants me to bring up the other question first, and that is: Does the Church want, and is it their only desire to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people?

"Here are the Apostles, the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants. . . . How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, 'I have laid the foundation, and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests.' If the Church want the Twelve to stand as the head, the First Presidency of the Church, next to Joseph, and hold the keys of this kingdom, every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controller of it.

"All that are in favour of this, in all the congregations of the saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand."

There was an overwhelming vote, the people, the quorums and all the apostles voting "aye," after which President Young called for the negative as follows: "If there are any of the contrary mind, every man and every woman who does not want the Twelve to preside, lift up your hands in like manner." Ten hands only were raised in opposition.

Brigham Young then remarked that since the vote was practically unanimous it superseded the other question of presenting Sidney Rigdon as "Guardian," and also trying the vote of quorums. In this manner, the Twelve Apostles, who were the rightful leading authorities according to the revelations of the Lord, were sustained as such by the vote of the people and by "common consent," as the Lord had commanded that all things should be done. The matter of succession was properly and rightfully decided, and was now binding on the members of the Church. For three years the quorum of the Twelve Apostles acted as the presiding quorum of the Church. Not until December, 1847, was Brigham Young chosen by the Twelve and sustained by the vote of the people to act as President of the Church.

At the close of the long day's services, the saints returned to their homes, their minds at rest, for with very few exceptions they were no longer in doubt regarding the authority of the priesthood and the presidency of the Church.

Church affairs, blind and chaotic since the martyrdom, were at once taken up, flying ends knitted together in sequence and the people felt there was a steady hand at the helm of the "Old Ship Zion" which they loved thus to symbolise.

Spiritual unity assured, it was now incumbent upon the Leader to stabilise his people through attention to temporal matters. One of his sermons at this time says: "I have promised to give you from time to time further information relative to the welfare of the Church both temporally and spiritually; the building up of Nauvoo; the gathering of the saints; the building of the Temple; the establishment of manufacturing, and various branches of industry; the support of the poor, and the preserving of peace, good order, union, love and truth; to the suppression of vice and every kind of disorder, evil, and immorality.

"The Temple as a great and glorious public work, immediately connected with the completion of our preparations and ordinances, touching our salvation and exaltation, and that of the dead, necessarily claims our first, and most strict attention. . . .

"The gathering of the scattered church members next claims our attention as a work of salvation, to be accomplished in wisdom and prudence. The saints cannot gather together in large numbers, and be able to enjoy the comforts and necessaries of life, without the necessary calculations and preparations for their employment and support. Not only must farms be cultivated, houses built, and mills to grind the corn, but there must be something produced by industry, to send off to market in exchange for cash, and for such other articles as we need. This must be produced, not by singing, or praying, or going to meetings, or visiting or friendly greetings, or conversation, but by united industry, skill, economy of the whole people. Men, women, and children must be well and constantly employed. In order the more effectually to do this, we must turn our attention to the erection of work-shops for the manufacture of every useful article; and wares thus manufactured must find a market, not in Nauvoo alone, but in all the wide country, and in cities and towns abroad. . . .

"In order to do this, we must not only be industrious and honest, in providing abundantly for our temporal wants, and for those for whom duty and charity bind us to act, but we must abstain from all intemperance, immorality, and vice of whatever name or nature; we must set an example of virtue, modesty, temperance, continency, cleanliness, and charity, and be careful not to mingle in the vain amusements and sins of the world. . . ."

Here was the guiding hand of a master-mind who knew that a constructive policy is the only moral force which holds group-life together. First work, and then work on. Vary that toil, to be sure, with innocent recreation. Recreation, yes, by all means, but not the recklessness which was the rule in the rude amusements of the river-men and adventurers who hung on the fringe of western civilisation. "There are amusements," declared Brigham Young at this time, "which are at once both innocent, instructive, and entertaining and which the saints can enjoy, in honour to themselves, and without mingling with the world. Such, for instance, as musical concerts, philosophical and astronomical exhibitions, etc." The necessary balance between work and healthful recreation was always recognised and fostered by the leaders of the Church even under the most difficult circumstances.

# V

## THE EXODUS OF MODERN ISRAEL

Work on the Temple Rushed—Women's Penny Subscription Fund—Dedication Ceremonies—Mob Violence—Government Agents Advise Saints to Leave—Brigham Young Prays for Light—Hurried Preparations for Departure—The Exodus of Modern Israel—Mormons Leave Nauvoo—The First Camp.

ALTHOUGH after the martyrdom of their Prophet, in 1844, the saints were left at liberty for a little while to build, cultivate, buy and sell, their days of peace were few. Persecution broke out anew. Brigham Young's own life was sought, while mobs pillaged farms, despoiled homes, killed inoffensive men and even hounded and assailed women.

This persecution was due to a number of causes. Brigham Young, following the lead of Joseph Smith, had been, first and always, for the Union as a whole—not the separate will of various states on tariff, on a central banking system, and above all on slave-holding policies. This was his ideal and therefore he and his people were not in sympathy with those who advocated independent state policies.

The solidarity of the Mormon vote frightened the politicians. The revelation and institution of plural marriage by the Prophet shocked the pious. The divinely conferred keys of the Priesthood and the claim of continuous revelation set the Christian ministry by the ears. The Pope and the Bible had long been the sole guide and authority, and all visions had been closed within the covers of the Bible for countless generations. God had so long been a Principle only, that men who claimed to have heard His voice; to have set up His Kingdom again; to have the Priesthood with divine authority to seal and bind, must be silenced or destroyed. A man who had composed the age-long quarrel between science, history and religion—through direct revelation from God—must of necessity be dangerous to organised society and its religious cults! So claimed his enemies.

The growing persecution had caused the people to look about for a new refuge, and their minds were fixed upon the western part of the continent. The Prophet Joseph Smith had foretold on August 6, 1842: "That the saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. Many would apostatise; others would be put to death or lose their lives in consequence of exposure and disease. Some would live to go and assist in making settlements and building cities and see the saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains." The Prophet had sent men to investigate locations in California and Oregon and had himself started out west and had crossed the river on the westward journey when he was sent for by his family and friends to return and give himself up to the mob and face the charge made against him.

The year and a half following the martyrdom of the Prophet was spent by Brigham Young and the people in hurried labours to complete the Temple. Said he in an address on August 12, 1844: "I want to say to the hands upon the Temple, be united; and to the committee, don't turn away any person because he is English, Irish or Scotch. Employ every man you can find and build the Temple and build your homes. I would rather pay out every cent to build up this place and receive an endowment in the Temple, even were I driven out the next minute without anything to take with me."

In the fall of 1845 the Temple was sufficiently completed to permit a preliminary dedication. This activity in completing the House of the Lord was opposed, not only by disaffected and apostate Mormons, but by others; on the plea that the saints would probably have to leave the city. Why then, they argued, waste time and means? But the Twelve stood as one man for the completion and dedication of the Temple.

An interesting phase of women's labours in connection with the Temple is found in the earnest co-operation of the loyal widow of the martyred patriarch Hyrum Smith, Mary Fielding Smith. She and her sister, Mercy Fielding Thompson, had set in operation in 1841 a fund for the collection of a donation of a penny a week to the building of the Temple. This work was continued by these faithful women promoters after the martyrdom and it is on record that all the glass and nails were purchased by that fund, a no mean contribution, for glass and nails were indeed a luxury in that outpost of civilisation.

The cap-stone of the Temple was laid on May 24, 1845, and so advanced was the work of building that in the following October a preliminary dedication was held, followed by three days' conference in the assembly room. As soon as opened the worthy saints entered by the hundreds, yea, by the thousands, to receive the higher blessings. Both day and night they crowded the sacred halls. Not only for themselves did they thus labour, but for their kindred dead, and many baptisms for the departed were performed at the font. Men and women remained in the Temple day and night, taking but a few hours' rest, so intent were they in this glorious work of the redemption of human souls. During the whole of that winter Brigham Young was at work day and night in the Temple ministering to the crowds of people who were hurrying to secure their blessings ere the flight into the wilderness. His journal records that he took but four hours sleep in twenty-four and went to his home but once a week.

As the Temple neared completion mobs renewed their assaults upon the saints. Grain fields were burned, stock was driven off, and people were obliged to flee into the city for protection. It was not until after Brigham Young had led the first companies of Nauvoo refugees across the ice in February, 1846, that the formal dedication of the Temple took place on May 1, 1846, thus frustrating the plots of the mobocrats who had sworn that the building should never be completed or dedicated. On this date public services were held in the Temple for the last time.

The amount said to have been expended upon the Temple by the saints exceeded $1,000,000. On November 10, 1848, two years after the main body of the people had been expelled, it was fired by an incendiary, the light of its fire being visible for thirty miles. On May 27, 1850, a tornado blew down the north wall and so shook the building that the Icarians, a French Communistic Sect, who had been engaged to rebuild the edifice for their own use, deemed it inadvisable to attempt its rebuilding. So the Temple was destroyed; though not all of it, for Brigham Young had quietly taken with him when he left, sacred inner fittings and furnishings, the records and the silver-toned Temple bell. They are to-day in the Temple at Salt Lake City.

Finally mob violence became so acute that Government officials sent agents to inform the Leader that the people must depart at once. Governor Ford of the State of Illinois had already obtained a promise from Brigham Young and the leaders that they would evacuate Nauvoo in the spring of 1846. Ford wrote to Brigham Young in April, 1845, advising him "to get off by yourselves where you can enjoy peace." His advice while it fitted in with future forecasts was not needed. Brigham Young was well aware of the prophecy of Joseph Smith concerning the Rocky Mountains and he knew what the ancient prophets had foretold. Therefore, he needed not the spur of Ford's cowardly urging.

Not supinely did the people and their leaders receive the insults and the injustice heaped upon them. Brigham Young knew his rights as an American citizen, and he well knew the protection denied his predecessor. He appealed, first to the state, then to the nation for justice. A feeble effort was made by State officials to bring the murderers of the Prophet and

Patriarch to judgment. But they were acquitted at the trial and almost cheered. Next in order for the pleasure of the mob was that the Charter of Nauvoo be repealed, and this occurred in the January session of the Illinois legislature. The people were indeed at the mercy of the mob; but the mob had no mercy and even though it was mid-winter the people were told they must go.

Then a committee, headed by Brigham Young, appealed to the President of the United States and Congress, for aid and sympathy in their coming exile, while setting forth in eloquent words the wrongs the people had endured in Missouri and Illinois, ending in the ruthless murder of their Prophets and Leaders, Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Not one word in reply was ever received.

While the people were hurriedly preparing to go out into the unknown solitudes of the West, the Leader was considering and praying about the place—the Place—where God would have His people go. In spite of the prophecy concerning the Rocky Mountains uttered by Brother Joseph, some of the leaders talked about Oregon, others about Vancouver, while Samuel Brannan, a presiding Elder in New York, had written letters urging the people to settle in the fertile lands of California.

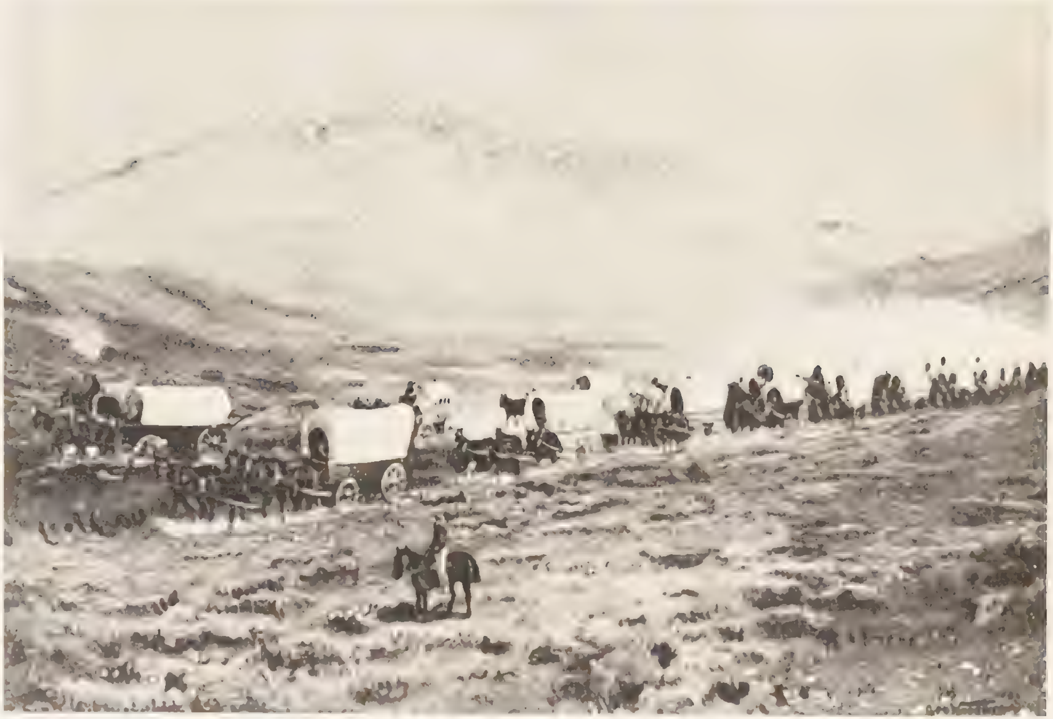
Brigham Young knew that he would probably lead the people into the deserts of the Great West, and into the Rocky Mountains, and as a wise and cautious leader, he did not propose to go until he was instructed by the Lord; nor would he go without full and adequate preparations. The West was an unknown desert then. The explorer Fremont had traversed the Rocky Mountain wastes and his printed report was studied by Brigham Young and his associates, for they surmised from the few published reports the arid character of the sun-baked valleys which lay within the arms of the Rocky Mountains. They also consulted the explorer Hasting's account of the West. Many councils were held in the Temple rooms.

The Leader was deeply concerned with these future developments. A prophecy is one thing—its fulfilment quite another matter. Twenty thousand people to transplant from Nauvoo into unknown, uncharted desert lands, with other thousands in Europe and the East; men to satisfy in a spiritual and a temporal religion; women and children to feed, clothe, educate; a civilisation to transplant—this was a supreme test of leadership and especially of faith in God!

Meanwhile over 2,400 families reported for immediate flight. Men made tents and wagon covers out of cloth of every description. Wagon shops were multiplied, wheelwrights, carpenters and cabinet makers laboured almost throughout the twenty-four hours. Green timber was curing for spokes and felloes for the wagons, some kiln-dried and occasionally only boiled in salt water. Iron was traded for stock; and homes were exchanged for wagons at ruinous loss. Women spun, wove, knitted and sewed; ran candles, dried vegetables, made cheese and yet had time to assemble in occasional carpet rag bees or quiltings to help other overburdened mothers. Still the oppressive yell of the mob, who tormented helpless women and sometimes killed men and cattle, filled the surrounding country with terror.

Each family of five persons was expected to have one good wagon, three yoke of cattle, two cows, three sheep, one thousand pounds of flour, twenty pounds of sugar, one rifle and ammunition, a tent and poles, from ten to twenty pounds of seeds, twenty-five to one hundred pounds of farming tools, bedding and cooking utensils. But many a family was driven out of Nauvoo with almost nothing.

The Leader not only counselled them to provide for immediate needs but for the future. He took with him vegetable and flower seeds, slips and cuttings, tools and implements of every sort and kind. He knew that spades and hoes, hammers and nails, churns and sewing needles are the material with which communities are founded. Not even extra sets of horse shoe nails were forgotten.



CROSSING THE PLAINS

This picture is typical of how the Mormons travelled in covered wagons across the desert to seek new homes in the then uncharted West.

The people were not only to be well fortified with necessary food supplies, tools, and all needed physical equipment; they must also have what cultural and scientific aids were possible. Above all things the symbols of a people's devotion to country and to home were both considered and supplied. Flags, printed histories, with writing materials and chosen historians to record each day's events were provided. Martial bands whose lilting measures could peal out "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and "Yankee Doodle" with an occasional Virginia reel for evening relaxation as the harmonic camp equipment, were planned as a part of each company. Two professional bands, Pitt's Brass Band and Duzett's Band were to be with them. There must needs be choirs and choir-leaders for Sabbath services, while violins and flutes accompanied the stately measures of "Praise to the man who communed with Jehovah," "O, My Father," "How Firm a Foundation," or "The Old Hundred" as the solemn human voices sent their pealing prayer and praise up to the Throne of Grace. Their few organs and two pianos were safely packed away for travelling. School books and song books rested side by side with the revered Bible and the Book of Mormon in "Mother's chest." Violins competed for popular favour and often won, with homesick folk around the camp fires; but the blare of brass or mellow flute tones found quite as much favour. Skilful doctors and nurses of the old Thompsonian school stored away cayenne pepper and gum myrrh against a time of colds and chills. Most unusual of all, Brigham Young on leaving Nauvoo, sent to England for Apostle Taylor and the returning Elders to bring scientific instruments to take the latitude and longitude of the country they were to pass over.

In the *Times and Seasons,* a periodical published in Nauvoo, appeared in 1846 the following notice to all the saints throughout the world, signed by Brigham Young and the Twelve: "The Exodus of the only true Israel from these United States to a far distant region of the West where bigotry and insatiable oppression will have lost its power over them, forms a new epoch, not only in the history of the Church, but of this nation." Thus fully did he comprehend the tremendous import of the movement west.

Brigham Young's last dictated Nauvoo entry in his office record reads thus: "Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, mills, public halls, magnificent temple and other public improvements, we leave as a monument of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose and integrity of heart, and as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with idleness, dishonesty, disloyalty to the Constitution of our country."

The first companies of saints left Nauvoo in early February, 1846, crossing the river in boats and other river craft carrying wagons and freight. Brigham Young, Willard Richards, George A. Smith and families left about two weeks later. It was bitterly cold. The snow fell heavily on the 16th, while the river was frozen over underneath the soft blanket. For some time the saints crossed on the ice.

It is so much a part of the Mormon morale to remember only the good things, the blessings and the joys of the past, present and future, that not many have left on record the misery and sufferings which made up so much of their persecuted lives. Here are a few extracts from the sketch of Brigham Young, Jr., Brigham's second son (then a boy of ten years) as to his own experiences. He writes in after life of the arrival on the opposite shore from Nauvoo, that cruel night in February:

"On the opposite shore, such a scene of misery and desolation met the gaze as will never be forgotten: dogs, chickens, cows and children by the thousand ran hither and thither in the utmost confusion. Wagons were scattered about; here was one hitched up, the driver cracking his whip and pushing recklessly through the crowd. Babies were screaming for their mothers, and mothers calling piteously for lost babies and children. Weeping, groaning sick ones lay here and there while anxiety was in every heart. A yoke of oxen were drowned in the river. One of the animals was recovered. Some men tore off the hide and told the people that anyone who lacked provisions was welcome to use the meat thus obtained."

The company travelled but four miles from the river bank, there reaching a deep gully. The Leader, however, would not stir from the bluff itself till he had helped the last team up. The first camp was made on Sugar Creek, nine miles out of Nauvoo, and on that first night out when the body of the saints were camped there, sleet was falling heavily and the people were huddled in tents and wagons, while trying to shovel away the frozen snow to make camp fires and beds. Nine babies were born amidst these appalling conditions during the night.

During that awful night Brigham Young and his boys went about with great buckets of hot "composition," a kind of tea consisting of a mixture of dried herbs, red pepper, ginger and cinnamon, with a bit of sugar and milk therein, ladling it out to the women and children shivering around their wagons and camp fires. He shared the night watch periods with the members of the quorum of Twelve Apostles, the oversight of the sleeping camps being too vital a responsibility to trust to others. He provided for the comfort and protection of the women and the little children with scrupulous care. He showed the men where camp was to be made, how to drive the wagons in a large circle, thus forming a safe enclosure for women and children, while the cattle were herded within also, and watched carefully. Cleanliness and sanitation were insisted on rigidly by this modern Moses. Some wooden tubs were in camp for bathing and clothes-washing, and a few had flat-irons. Every woman had her sewing kit. He taught the women, who were not pioneer-trained as he was, about the camp fire crane, the bake skillet and the use of hot ashes. He carefully watched and extinguished or safely covered all coals left over lest some conflagration might snap away tents and wagons. He taught the fleeing Nauvoo women how to make "salt-risen" bread, as his invalid mother and wife had early taught him that culinary art. He was indeed the father of this stricken multitude.

The following day was spent in organising the camp. Brigham Young stood up on his wagon tongue in the centre of the encircled camps and called out in clear, resonant tones: "Attention, camps of Israel!" There was a quick answering response. Every eye was focused upon the Leader.

He gave them detailed instructions for the breaking of camp, for making camp, order of travelling, care as to Indian surprises, protection of the children, the weak, and helpless. Camps were organised into temporary companies, men were appointed to look after teams, others to haul wood, others to serve as night guards. Sanitary regulations must be observed, and strict cleanliness was enjoined. The moral decencies were stressed, while honesty and sobriety must garnish every mind. Kindliness and sympathy had always been the rule and even an excess of this virtue was imperative now. Regular hours for rising and retiring, for meals and for morning and evening prayers would be announced by the bugler. Innocent amusement, such as music and dancing when the people were not on the march, games and play times for the young, were imperative. All this counsel met with warm approval from the vast camp, who needed, just then, definite plans and firm leadership even more than they needed food and shelter.

He met the captains of the camp and decided on the details for the government of the camps as follows:

"At 5 o'clock in the morning the bugle is to be sounded as a signal for every man to rise and attend prayers before he leaves his wagon. Then the people will engage in cooking, eating, feeding teams, etc., until 7 o'clock, at which time the train is to move at the sound of the bugle. Each teamster is to keep beside his team with loaded gun in hand or within easy reach, while the extra men, observing the same rule regarding their weapons, are to walk by the side of their particular wagons to which they belong; and no man may leave his post without permission of his officer. In case of an attack or any hostile demonstration by Indians, the wagons will travel in double file. The order of encampment is to be in a circle, with the horses and cattle tied inside the circle. At 8 p.m. the bugles are to be sounded again, upon which signal all will hold prayers in their wagons, and be retired by 9 o'clock."

The inspired development of plastic communal life in an exodus covering one year's time, and a distance of over one thousand miles, required the vision of a Moses and the practical sociology of a Jethro. The camps were divided in religio-military units. The Twelve were each placed as presidents over divisions with other leaders as captains of hundreds, fifties and tens, thus ensuring orderly discipline while dividing and subdividing responsibility. "We will have no laws we cannot keep, but we will have order in the camps," declared Brigham Young.

The strictest laws of honesty and chastity in thought, word and deed were enjoined on the camp; no travelling, no hunting nor work to mar the peaceful rest and worship of the Sabbath; nor were any oaths or profane language allowed at any time within or without the camps.

He was mindful of the Prophet's instructions about keeping historical records and he urged the people to report all matters of interest to the Church Historian, Willard Richards. He urged all captains to get tenting or cloth to cover the ends of their wagons to keep the cold and storm from their families. B. F. Johnson was appointed Camp Custodian of Lost Property. William Clayton, the Camp Clerk, who records these items, was an overworked man but a faithful one. He was in charge of the Church wagons under Bishop Newel K. Whitney, scribe for Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, and assistant to Orson Pratt in road surveys. He was also a faithful and gifted member of Pitt's Brass Band, and played in the evenings for the camps.

All the exigencies of a long march were carefully planned and provided by this mighty man of action and all able-bodied men were given their work and responsibility.

# VI

## THE TRAIL WESTWARD

Difficulties of the March—The Leader's Care for His People—Saints Sail from New York to California—Harassed Conditions of Those Left in Illinois—The Battle of Nauvoo—The Trail through Iowa—Organization of the Camps—Pen Pictures by Saintly Women.

In the exodus of the saints from Illinois to the West, Brigham Young had many burdens, grievous difficulties, and serious problems to solve. There were mobs and Indians to avoid; men to direct; a vast multitude to organise; and, above all, thousands of poor, helpless men, women and children to protect and teach how to direct themselves. He had himself a large family to look after. There were active and able organisers in his own and associate quorums, but upon him lay the responsibility of directing it all. The poor and the sick were his especial care. While numbers of the saints had means and provisions, thousands were not thus prepared.

A large company had preceded him over the river and when he came to the camp on Sugar Creek, he was amazed at the wastefulness of some of the people. Corn scattered on the snow, provisions thrown out, while possible want and starvation might be just ahead. He sharply rebuked them and told the people not to waste one kernel of corn. He counselled the men to fix comfortable places in the wagons for their wives and families to ride in; told them never to take or borrow a single thing belonging to another without permission, and to return the article promptly.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the Leader's cares and his ability to spread responsibility in the recorded fact that Stephen Markham, L. C. Wilson, and James Pace were appointed to oversee the rail cutting; Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, and George A. Smith, the house building; A. P. Rockwood to "boss" bridge-building; Jacob Peart to "boss" well-digging; Brigham Young to "boss" himself and "the whole camp." No use, there must be one "boss," to see that all other "bosses" attend to their bossing jobs! He often speaks affectionately to his associates telling them they are the best set of men on earth, but "there is room for improvement in us all."

It was often freezing cold and even the women, whose faith and patience seemed inexhaustible, became depressed and anxious, especially when sickness invaded the camps. One of them had a copy of Mme. Cottin's *Elizabeth*, and the book was so much in demand that some read it by moonlight as they sat on their wagon tongues. They sustained themselves, too, with singing the songs of Zion, "passing the Doxology along from front to rear, when the breath froze on their eyelashes."

On the same day that the saints left Nauvoo a group of 235 Church members living in New England and the Atlantic States, decided to reach the western wilds of America by water, instead of making the long tedious journey overland. This company sailed from New York in the ship *Brooklyn*, under the charge of Samuel Brannan. They carried complete colonising material for farming, two grist-mill outfits, a sawmill, as well as a printing press. They reached Yerba Buena, now San Francisco, on July 29, 1846, finding that three weeks earlier a small military fort had been established. However, it was they who planted the first United States Anglo-Saxon colony in California; published the first English newspaper, the *California Star*, and made themselves a vital part of pioneer coast history. Thus they became the real Anglo-Saxon pioneers of California.

The saints who were travelling overland left Sugar Creek camp during the last week of February and travelled about one hundred miles across Iowa during the month of March. By April 24 the advance companies were at Grand River, one hundred and forty-five miles from Nauvoo. This place was named Garden Grove and a temporary settlement was here located as a stopping place for the oncoming companies. By May 11, the first companies reached the middle fork of the Grand River and located a camp, which they called Mount Pisgah. This was one hundred and seventy-two miles from Nauvoo. There were nine hundred and two wagons westward bound on the trail by the middle of June. The fourteenth of this month found Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, George Miller and companies on the banks of the Missouri River at the place called Council Bluffs, where a ferry boat was soon built. This was a little above what is now the city of Omaha. Here on the side of the river were established winter quarters.

Meanwhile, the people left in Nauvoo, those unable through poverty or other disability to remove when the body of the saints left, were constantly harassed and set upon by mobs, both military and citizenry. Men were kidnapped, houses burned, and crops were destroyed. Brigham Young's brother and his son were among those who were attacked while they were harvesting their wheat on July 11, 1846. They were beaten and taken prisoners, but finally escaped.

In the following September while most of the Church were moving westwards an armed mob, headed by Thomas S. Brockman, approached Nauvoo. Some of the remaining saints fled, while others stayed behind and set up barricades as a defence. The mob swept on and a battle which lasted five days, followed. The Mayor of the City, Daniel H. Wells, not then a Mormon, put up a gallant defence although he was greatly outnumbered. The mob was repulsed four times and a number of men and children were killed and wounded. Finally a truce was signed permitting the comparatively quick removal of the aged and infirm remnant from the beleaguered city.

The wretched people were forced across the river and finally taken to different camps along the route.

"Squire" Wells, as the Mayor was called, a great and gifted soul, was the spiritual salvage of that holocaust. This bitter and unjust final atrocity against a people whom he knew to be orderly, industrious and loyal to God and country, lifted him into the Church as a firm defender of this persecuted people. He was baptized during this period and remained a member of the Church, staunch and true, during a long and useful life; and became the progenitor of a distinguished line of sons and daughters of Zion.

"Travelling through the swamps and bogs of Iowa was slow and painful in the extreme," records Brigham Young, Jr., then a mere boy. "For miles and miles the wagons laboured heavily over a corduroy road, or rather bridge made of logs lashed together with tough willows. This terrible swamp was full of danger and difficulty. Here and there were swales or moors with a little sod over the seas of water and mud below. If one wagon got across the swale in safety no other would dare to follow in its tracks, for they would have sunk out of sight. Each wagon straddled the tracks of the last, and even then the wheels would sink through the twelve-inch sod into the muddy lake below, and sometimes hours would be consumed in traversing a quarter of a mile."

The details of the journey are breath-taking. But Brigham Young bade the people to look cheerfully upon their present toils as they had joyfully met their past persecutions, counting them lightly in Jesus' name.

Not all of the credit for tireless endurance belongs to the men. Rather shall we not say that the fortitude and sympathy of the women of the Church maintained through suffering nights and wearying days of travel provided the spiritual background which enabled these Elders of Israel to keep the fires of courage and faith alight upon their altar of achieving sacrifice. How did the women and children fare? What were their reactions? Men may adventure forth after gold, after fame, or conquest, alone or in companies, under military discipline, or in disordered groups. But when a great journey into an unknown, unsettled region is to be undertaken by home seekers, by religious refugees, history should record, not only the doings and sayings of a Moses, a William Bradford, a John Winthrop, a Joseph Smith or a Brigham Young, but the experiences of the wives and mothers of these men as well. For they also set out, carrying with them moving homes peopled with parents and children, altar cloths and holy vessels for both domestic and divine service. One longs to know how the children fared, what the women thought and how home-life was perpetuated. Miriam did not leave us her picture of that forty years trek around the restricted area of Sinai, nor did the pilgrim mothers of America leave upon paper or parchment their story. What wondrous recitals would they have given!

Not so with the divinely enfranchised women of the Church of Jesus Christ in these last days. They were not only "ladies" in the best sense but were educated and superior women. Men duly recorded dates, events, causes and results of their own empire-founding days. Some of their wives and sisters also took time to envision their own surroundings and emotions. Their recitals give us the foundational impulse of that majestic moving camp of home-seekers, both the flux, the reagent and the resolution.

Two plural wives of the Leader paint such pictures. One may hear the morning bugle call, the cattle lowing, the horses champing, the wolves howling and see the faint shadows of Indians in the moonlit hills as revealed in the accounts of the men who told these tales: but in the written words of the women, one hears the cries of hungry children, feels the peace of protection which settles upon the sleeping camp, and enjoys vicariously the rare respite given to tired women who were allowed to ride in the loaded wagons, as the wagon trains rumbled and rolled into the western horizon. There was so much of tragedy and death, horror and gloom, that the mind finds release in viewing these other angles of that stormy period.

Eliza R. Snow gives us the following vivid picture of the patience and trials of these saintly mothers of men:

> "On the first night of the encampment nine children were born into the world, and from that time, as we journeyed onward, mothers gave birth to offspring under almost every variety of circumstances imaginable, except those to which they had been accustomed; some in tents, others in wagons—in rain-storms and in snow-storms. I heard of one birth which occurred under the rude shelter of a hut, the sides of which were formed of blankets fastened to poles stuck in the ground, with a bark roof through which the rain was dripping. Kind sisters stood holding dishes to catch the water as it fell, thus protecting the new-comer and its mother from a shower-bath as the little innocent first entered on the stage of human life; and through faith in the great Ruler of events, no harm resulted to either.
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> "Let it be remembered that the mothers of these wilderness-born babies were not savages, accustomed to roam the forest and brave the storm and tempest—those who had never known the comforts and delicacies of civilisation and refinement. They were not those who, in the wilds of nature, nursed their offspring amid reeds and rushes, or in the recesses of rocky caverns. Most of them were born and educated in the Eastern States; had there embraced the Gospel as taught by Jesus and His Apostles, and, for the sake of their religion, had gathered with the saints. They had assisted by their faith, patience and energies, in making Nauvoo what its name indicates, 'The Beautiful.' There they had lovely homes, decorated with flowers and enriched with choice fruit trees, just beginning to yield plentifully. To these homes, without lease or sale, they had just bidden a final adieu, and with what little of their substance that could be packed into one, two, and in some instances, three wagons, had started out desertward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time, was 'God knows!'
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> "From February 13th to 18th we had several snow-storms and very freezing weather, which bridged the Mississippi sufficiently for crossing heavily loaded wagons on the ice. We were on timbered land, had plenty of wood for fuel, and the men rolled heavy logs together, and kept large fires burning, around the bright blaze of which, when not necessarily otherwise engaged, they warmed themselves. The women, when the duties of cooking and its *et ceteras* did not keep them out, huddled with their children into wagons and carriages for protection from the chilling breezes.

"My dormitory, sitting-room, writing-office, and frequently dining-room, was the buggy in which Sister Markham, her little son, David, and I, rode. One of my brother's wives had one of the old-fashioned foot-stoves, which proved very useful. She frequently brought it to me, filled with live coals from one of these mammoth fires—a kindness which I remember with gratitude, but withal, I frosted my feet enough to occasion inconvenience for weeks afterwards."

Continuing her story she says: "We broke camp and moved out four or five miles and put up for the night, where at first view the prospect was dreary enough. It was nearly sunset—very cold, and the ground covered with snow to the depth of four or five inches; but with brave hearts and strong hands, and a supply of spades and shovels, the men removed the snow, and suddenly transformed the bleak scene into a living town, with cloth houses, log-heap fires and a multitude of cheerful inhabitants. The next day, with weather moderated, the remainder of the original camp arrived with one of the Nauvoo bands and these band men tented on the bluff, which overlooked our cozy dell; and at night stirring strains of music filled the atmosphere, on which they were wafted abroad, and re-echoed on the responsive breezes.

"As we passed through a town on the Des Moines River, the inhabitants manifested as much curiosity as though they were viewing a travelling menagerie of wild animals. Their levity and apparent heartlessness was, to me, proof of profound ignorance. How little did those people comprehend our movement, and the results the Almighty had in view.

"Our wagon was so filled that we could hardly find room in which to sit. Sister Markham and I were forced to sit on a chest with kettles and a soap-box for our foot-stools; and we were happy in being so comfortably situated, as well we might be, for many of our sisters walked, all day, rain or shine, and at night prepared suppers for their families with no sheltering tents; and then made their beds in and under wagons that contained their earthly All. How frequently, with intense sympathy and admiration, I watched the mother, when, forgetful of her own fatigue and destitution, she took unwearied pains to fix up, in the most palatable form, the allotted portion of bread, and as she dealt it out was cheering the hearts of her homeless children, while, as I truly believed, her heart was lifted to God in fervent prayer that their lives might be preserved, and, above all, that they might honour Him in the religion for which she was an exile from the home once sacred to her, for the sake of those precious ones that God had committed to her care. We were living on rations—our leaders having counselled that arrangement, to prevent an improvident use of provisions that would result in extreme destitution.

"We were travelling in the season significantly termed 'between hay and grass' and the teams, feeding mostly on browse, wasted in flesh, and had but little strength; and it was painful, at times, to see the poor creatures straining every joint and every ligature doing their utmost, and looking the very picture of discouragement. When crossing the low lands, where spring rains had soaked the mellow soil, they frequently stalled on level ground, and we could move only by coupling teams, which made very slow progress. From the effects of chills and fever, I had not strength to walk much, or I should not have been guilty of riding after those half-famished animals. It would require a painter's pencil and skill to represent our encampment when we stopped, as we frequently did, to give the jaded teams a chance to recuperate, and give us a chance to straighten up matters and things generally. Here is a bit from my journal:

" 'Our town of yesterday has grown to a city. It is laid out in a half hollow square, fronting east and south on a beautiful level—with, on one side, an almost perpendicular, and on the other, a gradual descent into a deep ravine, which defines it on the west and north. At nine o'clock this morning I noticed a blacksmith's shop in operation, and everything, everywhere, indicating real life and local industry. Only the sick are idle; not a stove or cooking utensil but is called into requisition; while tubs, washing-boards, etc., are one-half mile distant, where washing is done by the side of a stream of water beneath the shade of waving branches. I joined Sister Markham in the washing department, and got a buggy ride to the scene of action, where the boys have the fire in waiting—while others of our group stop in the tented city and attend to the general work of housekeeping; and for our dinner send us a generous portion of their immense pot-pie, designed to satisfy the hunger of about thirty stomachs. It is made of rabbits, squirrels, quails, prairie chickens, etc. trophies of the success of our hunters, of whom each division has its quota. Thus from time to time we are supplied with fresh meat, which does much in lengthening out our flour. Occasionally our jobbers take bacon in payment, but what I have seen of that article is so rancid that nothing short of prospective starvation would tempt me to eat it.' "

"Death," she continues, "made occasional inroads among us. Nursing the sick in tents and wagons was a laborious service; but the patient faithfulness with which it was performed is, no doubt, registered in the archives above, as an unfading memento of brotherly and sisterly love. The burial of the dead by the wayside was a sad office. For husbands, wives and children to consign the cherished remains of loved ones to a long desert grave, was enough to try the firmest heartstrings."

Another story of the sufferings endured by the women is told by Zina D. H. Young: "On the banks of the Chariton an incident occurred ever eventful in the life of woman. I had been told in the Temple that I should acknowledge God even in a miracle in my deliverance in woman's hour of trouble, which hour had come. We had travelled one morning about five miles, when I called for a halt in our march. There was but one person with me—Mother Lyman, the aunt of George A. Smith; and there on the banks of the Chariton river I was delivered of a fine son, on the morning of March 23. Mother Lyman served me with a cup of hot drink and a biscuit; what a luxury for special remembrance! Occasionally the wagon had to be stopped, that I might take breath. Thus I journeyed on. But I did not mind the hardship of my situation, for my life had been preserved and my babe seemed so beautiful." The boy was named Chariton and grew to manhood, a worthy pioneer descendant.

Again quoting from Aunt Eliza: "Many were the moon and starlit evenings when, as we circled around the blazing fire, and sang our hymns of devotion, and songs of praise to Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, the sound of our united voices reverberated from hill to hill, and echoing through the silent expanse, seemed to fill the vast concave above, while the glory of God seemed to rest on all around. Even now while I write, the remembrance of those sacredly romantic and vivifying scenes calls them up afresh, and arouses a feeling of response that language is inadequate to express."

# VII

## TEMPORARY CAMPS: THE MORMON BATTALION

The Trail Westward—Winter Quarters—The Final Destination—Government Refuses Offer to Erect Block-Houses and Forts in the Uncharted West—War Breaks out between the United States and Mexico—Unexpected Call upon the Mormons to Raise a Battalion—A Ready and Patriotic Response—Five Hundred Men Enlist—Brigham Young's Instructions to the Soldiers—An Historic March to California—Two Thousand Miles across Desert and Barren Country.

THE departure of the people from Nauvoo had been hurried and they had set out upon a journey in the wilderness to an unknown destination. Twelve thousand people and thirty thousand cattle, mules, horses and great flocks of sheep, with three thousand wagons, made them a fleeing multitude. Yet few of them were disheartened. All of them were suffering, more or less, with cold, hunger, sickness, and separation from loved ones left behind. But they were full of hope and faith, for God was in His Heaven and His representative upon this earth was their beloved and trusted leader, Brigham Young. He blessed them when ill, comforted them in trouble, and chided them when they erred. He suffered as they suffered —hunger and privation; but he always led them in the simple pastimes that were possible.

In the line of march or travel, the band wagons followed directly after the leaders. William Clayton, an English convert born near Preston in Lancashire, and a man of many gifts, played in both of the accompanying bands. He speaks often of the concerts given, some of them in various towns in Iowa where the musicians went to earn a little money, or provisions. They went over the Platte River, having to drag their wagons across with ropes. They played in different towns, leaving a very favourable impression, as well as earning some money. At Keosauqua, Iowa, they earned $25 and some provisions. All honour to these artists!

In all of the temporary camps, or resting places which were made along the way for the purpose of assisting those who were to follow, and to permit broken families to recuperate, the people were instructed to locate, make farms, plough and plant and to erect temporary homes. In the early autumn over 12,000 saints were located in Winter Quarters in addition to those in other camps along the way. Winter Quarters was a great log encampment. A grist mill was erected and temporary meeting and school houses were built.

Brigham Young superintended, directed and counselled the migrating thousands. "He sleeps with one eye open and one foot out of bed, and when anything is wanted he is on hand," records the camp journalist; while Tullidge wrote: "His care was extended to every family, every soul; even the very animals had the master friend near to succour them. No poor horse or ox had a tight collar or a yoke too small but what his eye detected it. He got out of his vehicle many times to see that some suffering animal was relieved."

In his mind Brigham Young carried constantly the burden of the future. His people trusted him and he trusted God. As yet, it is probable that he knew only in a general way just where they were going except to the Rocky Mountains; but he knew that the Lord would lead the way and guide them by His unerring guidance. Of the whole company, he was himself the man most thoroughly converted to the over-ruling providences of Israel's God. Whenever he was questioned as to the Place, he would answer calmly: "I will know it when I see it."

But a testing time was at hand. Brigham Young was a true patriot. He believed, as did the Prophet, that the emancipation of the American nation was ordained of God. Both the

Prophet and he had carried the Stars and Stripes before them in all their enterprises. Zion's Camp bore the flag before them in their march from Kirtland to Missouri, and the Pioneers bore their country's flag in their wagons across the American desert as a part of their necessary equipment. It was the sign and symbol of their loyalty to their country and of God's protecting wings overshadowing them. However, it is one thing to possess loyal sentiments, but quite another matter when those views are thrown into the crucible of action. Such a testing time was at hand.

On January 26, 1846, before the people left Nauvoo, Brigham Young had sent Jesse C. Little on a special mission to Washington to appeal to the Government for some possible aid in the removing his people to the Far West. He proposed, as had the Prophet before him, to "build block-houses and stockade forts on the route to Oregon" which his people might well accomplish on their trek westward, thus helping the Government in its settling of the Oregon Territory dispute with Canada and doing the same for California in the quarrel with Mexico. Elder Little's letter of appointment from Brigham Young carried this advice: "If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the Western coast, embrace those facilities, if possible. As a wise and faithful man, take every honourable advantage of the terms you can. . . . Let virtue, integrity and truth be your motto—salvation and glory the prize for which you contend."

While Elder Little was still in Washington trying in some way to negotiate with the Government, and while Brigham Young and the saints were impatiently waiting at Winter Quarters to set out upon their westward journey as the summer was on, war with Mexico was declared in June, 1846. The proposition was made by the Government that a battalion of Mormons be raised in defence of the country.

No doubt Elder Little at the seat of Government thought this a possible chance, although involving great danger and unknown sacrifices, to help the country and to help his people at the same time in the matter of transportation. All such action is undertaken with more or less mixed human motives. Brigham Young had asked for bread. The Government, as usual, handed him a stone. Mob-driven, despoiled, and already in the Indian's uncharted western domain he appealed loyally to his Government to help subdue that wilderness through peaceful means, thereby hoping to help both his people and his country.

Some of the officials no doubt thought that in addition to giving the Mormons help, there was here a fine opportunity to test the boasted loyalty of Brigham Young and his followers. But who shall say there were not those at Washington who hoped thus to cripple and destroy the fleeing religionists by requisitioning the flower of their young manhood?

In answer to the Mormons' request, it was decided to aid Colonel S. W. Kearney, who was in charge of the Mexican expedition, by calling out first 1,000, later cut down to 500, soldiers, from the Mormons who were then encamped, some at Mount Pisgah, an oasis in the Iowa prairies, a hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo, and the rest at Council Bluffs and Winter Quarters on the Missouri River.

No delay was permitted. Elder Little, together with recruiting officers, were sent post haste across the continent. They were accompanied by a scholar and a gentleman, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who had before visited the hated Mormon city of Nauvoo just after the final expulsion; and who had been convinced that the people were greatly wronged by the inhuman treatment which they had received. He became their defender and friend from that time henceforth. He was by nature fitted for the delicate task of negotiating a peaceful solution of this seemingly impossible request. As the recruiting party neared the little settlement of Mount Pisgah, on June 26, 1846, the Mormon camp was thrown into consternation. The cry rang out: "The United States troops are upon us!"

This terror was soon dispelled, however, when Colonel Kane and Captain James Allen were seen talking with the brethren. But Captain Allen was not answered by the men in charge at Mount Pisgah. He was referred to the leaders who were camped over a hundred miles westward at Winter Quarters. Messengers accompanied them to Winter Quarters, where Brigham Young and the people were busily engaged in preparing winter camp for the body of the saints while he and a company of scouts intended to pioneer a route to the Rocky Mountains.

Most of the people, and many of the leaders, saw in this call another evidence of treachery on the part of Government officials against the hated and despised Mormons. Brigham Young did not altogether accept this view, although he had his doubts. No matter who or what prompted the demand, the United States was at war with another country. There was need of men to defend her in her rights. The blood of loyal forefathers flowed in the veins of these patriots.

But the people themselves were to decide this question. The Leader spoke: "Attention, Israel! We want all the people to assemble in the bowery at ten o'clock to-morrow. We have matters of importance to present to them." At the appointed hour the hosts assembled and after an earnest prayer all joined in singing Cowper's inspired hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform."

Captain Allen was then introduced, delivered his message and made his appeal in as fair a manner as possible. Imagination alone can picture the surprise, almost dismay, with which this startling news was received. The nation whose people had thrust them from its borders and driven them into the wilderness was now calling upon them for aid. And this in full face of the fact that their own oft reiterated appeals for help had been denied!

After some discussion by those present, the Leader arose: "I want to say to the brethren present," he said, "that this is a surprise to me, but I believe Captain Allen to be a gentleman, and a man of honour, and I accept his pledge to be a friend of our people. Now, I would like the brethren to enlist and make up a battalion to go and serve our country; and if you will do this, and live your religion, I promise you in the name of Israel's God that not a man of you will fall in battle." He called for their assent which was granted.

He roused the liberty-loving emotions of these descendants of Puritan forebears in this thrilling appeal. He promised that all families left behind should fare as well as he did and they should be his especial charge. Then turning to Captain Allen, Brigham Young said: "You shall have your battalion. If there are not enough young men, we will take the old men, and if they are not enough, we will take the women."

Next morning, the Stars and Stripes were unfurled and hoisted on a liberty pole, while Duzett's Martial Band and Pitt's Brass Band were hauled with the flag in wagons from camp to camp. Brigham Young and the Twelve acted as recruiting officers. "In no part of our broad land were five hundred men ever more quickly enlisted than in the Mormon camps."

Brigham Young naturally could not himself join in this expedition; his duties were with the leadership of his argosy. His eldest sons were twelve and ten years old. But his tender solicitude was tried with the human uncertainty of the mission he had sent five hundred of his young stalwarts out to accomplish, while his resources would be taxed to the utmost in the care, protection, and removal of the helpless families left behind by the soldiers.

Boys offered to drive the family teams, that elder brothers or fathers might enlist. Women, wives and mothers as they were, urged their men to enlist, willing to suffer for their country's sake. Many women offered to accompany their husbands as camp cooks. Some of them did go. The battalion consisted of five hundred men, and twenty-nine officers. Twenty of the soldiers were accompanied by their wives.

Colonel Kane, who was present at the time of the final muster, says of the event:

> "In three days the force was reported, mustered, organised and ready to march. There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. . . ." In describing the final social given in honour of the departing heroes, he continues: "In the bowery whose earthen floor had been trodden firm and hard by the worshipers, was gathered the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel. If anything told that the Mormons had been bred to other lives it was the appearance of the women as they assembled here. Before their flight they had sold their watches and trinkets as the most available recourse of raising ready money! and hence, like their partners, who wore waistcoats cut with useless watch pockets, they, although their ears were pierced and bore the marks of rejected pendants, were without earrings, chains or brooches. Except such ornaments, however, they lacked nothing most becoming the attire of decorous maidens. The neatly darned white stockings and clean white petticoat, the clean starched collar and chemisette, the somewhat faded, only because too well washed, lawn or gingham gown that fitted modestly to the waist of its pretty wearer—these, if any of them spoke of poverty that had known better days.
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> "With the rest attended the Elders of the Church within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the High Council with their wives and children. They, the bravest and most trouble-worn, seemed the most anxious of any to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dance in a double cotillion was the signal which bade the festivity commence.
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> "Light hearts, lithe figures and light feet had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky line of the Omaha hills. Silence was then called and a well cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with a fair face and dark eyes, gave with quartette accompaniment, a little song, the notes of which I have been unsuccessful in repeated efforts to obtain since—a version of the text touching to all earthly wanderers:
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> By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept;
> We wept when we remembered Zion.
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> "There was danger of some expression of feeling when the song was over for it had begun to draw tears but, breaking the quiet with his hard voice, an elder asked the blessings of heaven on all who, with purity of heart and brotherhood of spirit, had mingled in that society, and then all dispersed, hastening to cover from the falling dew. All, I remember,

> but some splendid Indians who in cardinal scarlet blankets and feathered leggings, had been making foreground figures for the dancing rings and staring their inability to comprehend the wonderful performances. These loitered to the last as if unwilling to seek their abject homes."

In giving instructions to the members of the battalion before their departure, Brigham Young requested that they prove themselves to be the best soldiers in the service of the United States. "Captains," he said, "act as fathers to your companies. Manage your men and control yourselves by the power of the Priesthood. Keep yourselves neat and clean in appearance. Observe strict chastity. Be civil and genteel in all your dealings with each other and with all men. No swearing must be allowed, and insult no man, no matter what your provocation may be. Avoid contention with Missourians, or any other class of people. Take with you your Bible and Book of Mormon, but do not seek to impose your views or religion upon others. Card-playing should not be allowed. Burn any cards you may find, if they belong to our own boys. If you keep these counsels no blood will be shed. See that you do so. After your labours you will probably be discharged within eight hundred miles of the proposed settlement of the saints in the Great Basin, where the next Temple will be built in a stronghold free from mobs."

The Mormon battalion's march to the Pacific coast has become part of the history of the nation. Taking up their line of march for Fort Leavenworth they left to the music of Pitt's Band, playing "The Girl I Left Behind Me" as the Stars and Stripes waved above the company of marching men. Many of the men left behind them wives and little children who were stricken indeed, as there were so many thousands of helpless and widowed saints already gathered in the camps of Israel.

In spite of the best endeavours, the absence of the men worked hardships on many of the families. The promise of protection was kept, but suffering could not be wholly prevented. An extract from a personal letter indicates something of the sorrow felt by these devoted women who were left behind: "This blow entirely prostrated me. But I had just embarked upon my sea of troubles. Winter found me bedridden, destitute, in a wretched hovel which was built upon a hill-side; the season was one of constant rain; the situation of the hovel and its openness gave free access to piercing winds, and water flowed over the dirt floor, converting it into mud two or three inches deep; no wood but what my little ones picked up around the fences so green that it filled the room with smoke; the rain dropping and wetting the bed which I was powerless to leave; no relative to cheer or comfort me, a stranger away from all who ever loved me; my neighbours could do but little, their own troubles and destitution engrossing their time." But the Leader's promise was kept and as soon as possible these conditions were changed.

At Fort Leavenworth the soldiers obtained their muskets and provisions and drew their pay. Then they sent back all the means they could spare to provide for their families, as well as making a generous contribution towards the missionary labours to be undertaken by the three apostles, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, and Orson Hyde, who were kept out in the mission field in spite of obstacles and poverty. The money thus received was a decided aid to the families of the battalion men in the westward march of the people.

On August 12, the battalion left Fort Leavenworth on their march to Santa Fe. Sickness and death marked every step of that toilsome way. Captain Allen, loved by every man in the battalion, died at this time. His successor, Lieutenant A. J. Smith, was a martinet who despised the Mormons and knew how to express his contempt for them because of his power. Forced marches, and inhuman treatment from Dr. George B. Sanderson, a bitter anti-Mormon, combined to render the passage of the troops disastrous in the extreme. The survivors of that death-dealing march have always attributed much of their suffering, as well as the death of their companions, to the treatment received from these unfriendly officers. Captain Nelson Higgins had gone on to Pueblo with the women of the company, who would have nursed and watched over their companions had they been allowed to accompany them.

Colonel Philip St. George Cooke was given charge at Santa Fe, and although he was a strict disciplinarian, he was a just man and never exceeded his right to control through any bias he may have felt. He sent eighty-six of the sick men back to Winter Quarters under Captain Brown. Fifty-four others were sent to Pueblo in charge of Captain James Willis. The Pueblo Company had only six days' provisions (with no physician) on their march of three hundred miles.

The battalion of three hundred and fifty men therefore continued the march to California. Their shoes wore out and they stripped pieces of skin from the hides of oxen and used bark or leather for footwear. Mules and oxen died by the way, and for miles men were hitched into the wagons side by side with the animals. The tropic sun of the sandy desert beat upon their heads while the chilly night air made sleep next to impossible. Food was short; half rations were served. Men scratched the wool from their winter shirts that they might boil the leather of which they were fashioned for soup. Small portions of water were carried, and sometimes whole days were spent without a drink of water. The grim humour of the situation is expressed by the camp musician, Levi W. Hancock, who gives us a vivid picture of that march, in the following song:

And when an ox is like to die,
The whole camp halts, and we lay by;
The greedy wolves and buzzards stay,
Expecting rations for the day.

Our hardships reach their rough extremes,
When valiant men are roped with teams
Hour after hour, and day after day,
To wear our strength and lives away.

After each stanza came the refrain:

> How hard to starve and wear us out
> Upon this sandy desert route.

The main body of the battalion reached the Pacific shores at San Diego on January 1, 1847, but were not all mustered out of service until July 17, 1848.

When the weary and ragged men reached the coast they were congratulated by their leader, Colonel St. George Cooke. He said he had seen many dark days in his time, but never before had he ever witnessed or even heard anything like "this march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found; or deserts where, for want of water, there is not a living creature." The men did not engage in battle. The promise of Brigham Young had been fulfilled.

After their discharge some eighty-one of the men responded to the appeal of their commander and re-enlisted. The others began their march eastward to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. On their way they were met with letters from the Church authorities and their families and relatives. Brigham Young advised as many as could to return to California to seek employment there during the winter and return in the spring. Half of them responded to the appeal and spent the winter in California digging wells, building houses, and teaching the Indians the arts of peace. Some of them drifted into the Sacramento Valley where they laboured on the ranch of a man named Sutter and here they assisted in the discovery of the precious metal which resulted in the famous gold-rush to this western state.

# VIII

## THE TREK

Permanent Winter Quarters Established—New Year's Day Celebrations—Preparations for the Great Trek—Regulations for the March—Journey Begun—Ingenious Road-Measuring Device—Route along the Platte River—Non-Mormons in the Party—The Camp Grumbler.

THE body of the people now deprived of their ablest men, were obliged to remain till the following spring at Winter Quarters. The bereft families of the battalion prayed for their loved ones, but "carried on" in their own struggle for independence. The loss of five hundred able-bodied men, the extra burden of hundreds of their wives and children left behind by the battalion boys, necessitated a change of plans, and caused the leader to locate the temporary camp permanently on the Missouri River opposite Council Bluffs as a winter quarters, which it was actually called for many years. Located on the site of the present village of Florence, the situation permitted space for the building of 538 log houses, and 83 sod houses, which gave shelter to about 3,200 souls that first winter. The buildings were from twelve to eighteen feet long, with sod floors and roofs, yet with good chimneys. The other camps at Mount Pisgah and Garden Grove took care of other hundreds of families.

Then came the news of the Battle of Nauvoo, already referred to, and another mass of the weakest and most helpless of the saints, who had been thus cast out from their homes, must be looked after and brought on to the camps. It had been hoped they could remain at Nauvoo at least another year; but their cruel enemies had no mercy. Hundreds were sick at Winter Quarters, for malaria made its inroads and insufficient food contributed to an unhealthy condition. But faith and care restored most cases.

Everybody was busy, from Brigham Young himself to the very last child who could split or carry kindlings or knit garters and clean hides. Flour mills and saw mills were built, with the Leader as chief workman and superintendent.

Men carefully prepared wagons, tools, supplies, and traded with the Indians and trappers for furs, and hunted for wild meat; or went off to distant pioneer towns to trade or search for work. Women knit, spun, sewed, fashioned leather leggings or wove willow baskets for sale in Eastern markets. They were all busy in carrying on their own domestic arts in preparation for their long and perilous journey into the unknown. The saints varied the hard life with song and dance, with meetings and counsels, while life flowed around them like the turbid waters of the Missouri, full of both life-giving fluid and murky looking sediment. Hours were all too short, days were too brief in preparation for their momentous march to an unknown land.

But the evening brought peace and rest; tallow candles gave light for study or converse around the broad fireplace; feather beds made soft nests for tired children and the simple supper of corn-meal mush and milk left no indigestible residue to cause restless night hours. Around each home altar knelt the family night and morning; the hymn of praise glorified the humblest roof-tree; while the Sabbath brought worship in its fullest expression of gratitude and love for the Father whose overshadowing wings protected them even in that far wilderness.

The winter of 1846–47 was spent by the refugees in as busy daytime hours as ever occupied human hands. Others would follow after them who could rest here on their way to the West. So homes were made comparatively permanent, institutions of learning and council, sanitation and recreation, were generously provided. "Keep people busy and you keep them happy," was an axiom of Brigham Young.

There was a long council house, schools, and the public hall which served for meetings on the Sabbath and for a primary schoolroom during the week, with parties occasionally in the long winter evenings. Farms were planted, bridges built and vegetable seeds set out for fall and spring use. The camp was divided into wards, with a bishop over each ward. Men toiled in the fields and blacksmith shops. Each gave every tenth day's labour for the support of the widows and destitute.

Both Christmas and New Year's Day were observed. But on the latter a great celebration was held. These were Puritan refugees and as yet the Catholic Christ Mass Day had not entered into extensive public remembrance. The Fourth of July, Thanksgiving and New Year's Day were their great public holidays.

New Year served to accentuate their feasting memorial to open the door of future Providence for them. The day was ushered in with the booming of cannon, the trilling of pipes in patriotic airs. There was a feast with roast turkey, if you please; and all took part in the dancing and general festivities. Even the little girls had rag dolls and the boys newly knitted woollen socks for New Year's gifts. The "Silver Greys," who were the honoured aged veterans, some of them revolutionary soldiers, with their spectacled dames, a few of them nearly one hundred years old, danced as Israel did of old "before the Lord."

Brigham Young taught the people how to go forth in the dance. He told them that night: "For some weeks past I could not wake up at any time of the night but I heard the axe at work; and now my feelings are, dance all night if you desire to do so."

Again he said on this same topic:

"I consider this a suitable place to give some instructions. The world considers it very wicked for a Christian to hear music and to dance. Many preachers say that fiddling and music come from hell; but I say there is no fiddling, there is no music in hell. Music belongs to heaven, to cheer God, angels and men. If we could hear the music there is in heaven, it would overwhelm us mortals. Music and dancing are for the benefit of holy ones, and all of those who come here to-night who are not holy and righteous and do not worship God have no right to be here."

Thus the winter passed in all the camps of the saints. Apostles Lorenzo Snow and Parley P. Pratt, in charge of Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, pursued the same course of mingled work, play and worship. These, after all, are the eternal verities.

As spring approached active arrangements were made to begin the last lap of the journey to the Rocky Mountains or some more distant point. Into the preliminary arrangements for that final breath-taking, nerve-trying journey, went a fine selection of human elements, a wise estimate of foodstuffs, with road-breaking, camp-making equipment, and as the foundation of all preparations, went the up-building faith which would brighten tempestuous skies, find joy in struggle, and peace even in the lair of wild beasts or in the strongholds of fierce and revengeful savages. They were religious home-seeking refugees, not treasure-seeking adventurers.

The United States were founded, not by adventure nor greed-driven refugees, but by so-called religious fanatics. The hopes, the ideals, the principles of liberty which make America the "Land of the free and the home of the brave," are the inheritance left by the Pilgrim Fathers and Puritan Founders. So with these Mormon people seeking homes and religious freedom in a western wilderness. Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Utah were all founded in the same way—by the descendants of American pilgrims and religious refugees.

Great care and thought were given to the requirements of the physical man—to the temporal needs of the vast moving multitude. Provisions, camp equipment for the present and future, agricultural implements and all the fundamental needs of civilisation were given careful consideration by this band of pathfinders—for such were the entire band of first pioneers. A picked group indeed!

We read concerning the infinite care for details in Brigham Young's office journal: "Minutes of meeting, February 27, 1847 (Winter Quarters). Joseph Hart will tan hides. The captains of 100 are to secure twelve hides and take them to Joseph Hart. Brigham Young has bought up 100 bushels of seed corn. Has 300 bushels seed corn to go in pioneer company." In another entry Brigham Young is quoted as saying: "I want them to pay a dollar a bushel for seed corn and then they won't feed it to their cattle—get mules and wagons and get to know in one week what we have on hand. Now the first thought is to get the pioneers fitted out. If those who go this spring have to get out without help what right have those who stay to expect anything at the mountains when they come? We need 400 pounds per team, 300 pounds provisions, farming utensils, cooking utensils, 25 bed blankets, ploughs, light log chains, etc. We have to search for land that can be irrigated. Two blacksmiths with bellows and rolls. . . . You want to start your ploughs the day after you get there. If the prisoners take horses and mules the next company will not be in fear of Indians—take 20 ploughs, and 10 set drag teeth. I want you to be ready by the 15th of March. Take all the millet, barley, peas and beans you can carry.

"Second company take potatoes, buckwheat, fall wheat and rye, are to leave by 15th or 20th of June. Take all the flax and hemp seed, 300 pounds provisions, 400 pounds corn or meal for team, each horse or mule thoroughly shod with new shoes and an extra set of nails prepared."

As part of their equipment they took the Nauvoo Temple furnishings which had been secured at great risk before leaving Nauvoo. We read: "The first company will carry the Temple bell with fixtures for hanging at a moment's notice; which will be rung at daybreak, or at a proper time and call all who are able to pray. The bell may be needed, particularly in the night, if Indians are hovering around to let them know that you are at your duty."

Many cows had been yoked up into slow-moving ox-trains from Nauvoo for they were vitally useful as food animals both on the march and when they reached The Place. Dogs were good watchmen about animals and camp; they went along. Chickens cackled in coops fastened on behind wagons.

Twenty thousand people were en route or were settled in temporary camps across the State of Iowa. It was impracticable to transport such a host across an unknown desert. Scouts must be chosen, men of courage, wisdom, and of long experience in path-finding. Their history had schooled many such men and women, but only a picked group, those who could be depended on, who could be spared, only those would be suitable for the first scouting party.

In the early spring of 1847, Brigham Young gathered together such a pioneer company. Leaving Winter Quarters on April 7, and crossing the plains on the north side of the Platte River, they broke trail much of the way to the Rocky Mountains. "The whole company consisted of one hundred and forty-three men, three women and two children—148 souls. They had seventy-two wagons, ninety-three horses, fifty-two mules, sixty-six oxen and nineteen cows besides seventeen dogs and some chickens. They carried a cannon to overawe the Indians. There were blacksmiths, mechanics, farmers and builders, so that the band was ready not only to fight its way through, but also to construct homes, and when they should reach a place which God should designate as their journey's end, they were prepared to colonise, settle and build up the country, and to till the earth. A clerk, and historians were chosen—Thomas Bullock, Willard Richards and William Clayton, filling these positions."

It was not at first the intention to include women in this first trail-blazing, hazardous journey. But better counsels obtained, and Lorenzo Young brought his wife, Harriet Wheeler Young, Brigham Young took his wife, Clara Decker Young, and Heber C. Kimball was accompanied by his wife, Ellen Sanders Kimball. A trio of lovelier women could not have been chosen; they were a type of all the gentle, patient and sympathetic wives and mothers who were to follow in their footsteps. They imparted to that pioneer camp the halo of their refining influence.

Men in all ages have shown remarkable powers of endurance in stress of war or when animated by ambition. Women face pain, terror and death without flinching if their babies or homes are in danger. Yet suffering and privation, toil and exposure react harshly upon the human soul, stultifying spiritual growth and lowering morale, unless the underlying causes are ennobling and the objects are exalting. Those who face death and despair in the cause of religion are and always have been called fanatics. But how glorious are the rewards! The particular belief or creed may be an error, but the result of self-discipline and self-sacrifice is none the less worthy and lovely. It is the motive, not the result of the act which saves or destroys the human soul.

The same camp regulations were followed as were given out by the Leader on Sugar Creek just out of Nauvoo on the journey to Winter Quarters and other points in Iowa. In addition to the Church officers a semi-military organisation was formed with captains of hundreds, fifties and tens. Wagons filed in their order, captains rode on horseback, watching, guarding, encouraging the people, assisting tired teams, mending broken harnesses or helping worn-out foot-travellers with a lift. The camp was made in circular form each evening, as protection for stock and against surprise attacks by Indians.

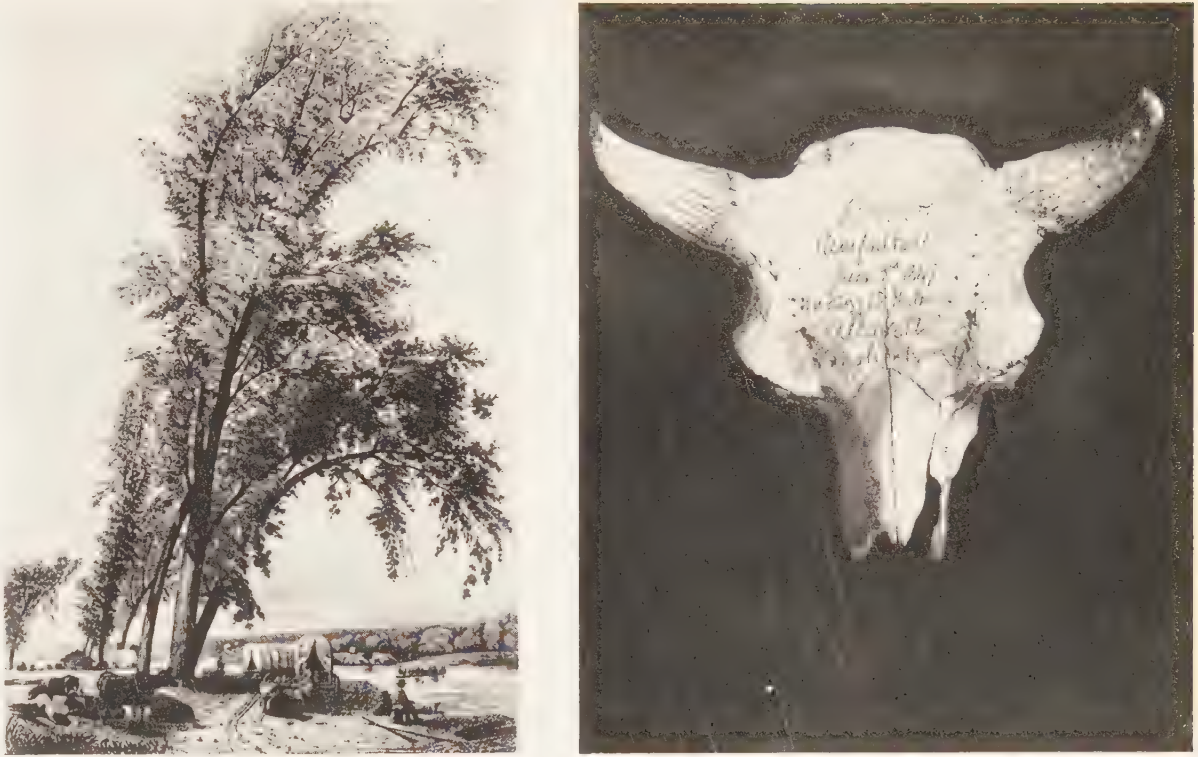
Heber C. Kimball with six wagons had moved out of Winter Quarters, April 5, 1847. Brigham Young was to have followed next day, but learning that Apostles John Taylor and

Parley P. Pratt were near Winter Quarters on their return from their English mission he had decided to remain over and receive the report of the European conditions. They brought with them the scientific instruments ordered by the Leader for use on the journey: two sextants, two barometers, two artificial horizons, one circular reflector, several thermometers, and a telescope. The equipment served a noble purpose. Apostle Taylor also brought with him $2,000 in gold to help the saints in their westward journey. How fervently Brigham Young blessed these devoted English converts, many of them his own personal friends, for this help in time of great need. Elders Pratt and Taylor were left in charge of preparations at Winter Quarters, and they were themselves to bring out big companies as fast as they could complete arrangements.

One of the most interesting facts connected with this journey was the appointment by Brigham Young of Orson Pratt (who later became internationally known as a mathematician and scientist) to make a scientific survey of the distance travelled and of the latitude and longitude from day to day. The scientific instruments purchased by Elder John Taylor were used for this purpose. William Clayton had been experimenting with road measurement, and Brigham Young requested Orson Pratt to give the matter some attention. When Orson Pratt complained that he had no way of measuring distance, "fasten a chain around your wagon wheel and count its revolutions," responded the practical leader.

But it was the keen engineering ability of William Clayton, friend of Brigham Young, camp clerk and keeper of the Church commissary department who solved the real problem. William Clayton writes under date of May 8, 1847:

> "I have counted the revolutions of a wagon wheel in order to get the exact distance we have travelled. The reason why I have taken this method which is somewhat tedious, is because there is generally a difference of two, and sometimes four miles in a day's travel between my



(Left) Mormon pioneers crossing the Missouri River by the ferry at Council Bluffs, Nebraska. (Right) A bulletin of the plains used by Mormons as a kind of desert post-office for delivering and receiving messages while crossing the plains.

> estimation and that of some others, and they have all thought I underrated it. This morning I determined to take pains in order to know for a certainty how far we would travel to-day. Accordingly I measured the circumference of one of the hind wheels of Brother Kimball's wagon (being the one I sleep in), in charge of Philo Johnson. I found the wheel exactly fourteen feet eight inches in circumference, not varying one eighth of an inch. I then calculated how many revolutions it would require for one mile and found it precisely 360, not varying one fraction, which somewhat astonished me. I have counted all the revolutions during the day's travel and find it to be a little over 11¾ miles. According to my previous calculations we were 285 miles from Winter Quarters this morning before we started, and after travelling ten miles, I placed a small cedar post in the ground with these words inscribed on it with a pencil. 'From Winter Quarters 295 miles, May 8th, 1847. Camp, all well. William Clayton.'"

The counting was very tedious, and William Clayton, who did the counting, did some profound thinking also. Necessity was again the mother of invention. Brother Clayton was a modest genius, but he has left on record the story of a really wonderful piece of pioneer mechanism, a set of wooden cogwheels was invented which constituted a crude odometer; and with this instrument the entire distance between the Missouri River and the Great Salt Lake was measured; and measured with fair accuracy.

The entire route of the journey was marked by the leaders, having in mind the roadway of a future railway. They marked the route, but it was Orson Pratt and William Clayton who measured the distances. Where timber was unavailable for this purpose, a buffalo skull was used, marked carefully and left by the roadside; the hollow of the skull also served occasionally as a primitive post-office where letters could be left and found.

The emigrants' post-offices are thus spoken of by Aunt Eliza R. Snow, who was in a company several weeks behind the original pioneers: "Much of the time we were on an untrodden way; but when we came on the track of the pioneers, as we occasionally did, and read the date of their presence, with an 'all well' accompaniment, on a bleached buffalo skull or an upright board, we had a general time of rejoicing." For years those bleached buffalo skulls were made the news agents of the Mormon emigrations. The morning newspaper of to-day is not read with half so much eagerness as were those dry bones on the plains, telling of family and friends gone before.

The long stretch of country, about five hundred miles between Winter Quarters and Laramie, was an unbroken trail. Brigham Young had been advised to follow the Oregon trail south of the Platte River, as the Indians along the north route were warlike and bitterly opposed to the white man's intrusion. But the Leader, who preferred to keep out of the way of white adventurers more to be feared by Mormons than were Red Indians, trusted in God and his own wise policy of kindness and honourable dealing to help in the settlement of all possible Indian difficulties. It was so! Troubles came, but a friendly pow-wow, an occasional present, smoothed away most of the ructions. Alarms, stampedes, warlike attacks, stolen horses, all these marked their way. But Providence was over all.

However, all should have a voice in camp decisions. Wilford Woodruff writes:

> "On the 3rd of May, a council of the whole company of the pioneers was called to determine whether we should cross the Platte, or continue along the north side of the river. We were convinced that it would be better for us to cross the river on to the old travelled road to Laramie, as there was good grass on that side, while the Indians were burning it off on the north side where we were travelling.
>
> "When, however, we took into consideration the fact that other companies would soon follow and that we were the pioneers, and had not our wives and children with us, we thought it best to keep on the north banks and face the difficulties of burning prairies. A road would thus be made which would serve as a permanent route, independent of the old emigrant trail. There was the further consideration that the river would separate us from other immigrant companies that might be disposed to quarrel with us over grass or water. Besides, by the time the next company came along, the grass would be much better than on

> the south side of the river. A vote was called for, and the decision was unanimous that we continue along the north bank of the Platte."

It is interesting to know that this northern Platte River road, made entirely by the Mormon pioneers for hundreds of miles, travelled by their own succeeding companies, was the route chosen by the Union Pacific engineers twenty years later as the shortest and best road for the railway to follow.

All along the way, buffalo and deer hunts, camp fire songs and occasional meetings, the Sabbath day rest and worship marked the weeks of long and tedious travel. Naturally, the spirits of the men were at times depressed and occasionally the efforts to cheer themselves resulted in horse-play and even in quarrelsome confusion. Especially was this true of the few in the company who were not of the Mormon faith. Brigham Young had welcomed them when entering upon the long journey, but had warned them of what would be expected of them. Their attitude towards cards, gambling and rowdyism was not that of the Mormons, nor could that be expected. But some of the Elders themselves entered into the spirit and on the morning of May 22, at Bluff Runs, Brigham Young called the camp together and addressed them in the following words:

> "For a week past, nearly the whole camp has been card playing; and checkers and dominoes have occupied the attention of the brethren and dancing has been going on continually. . . . There have been disputes upon every nonsensical thing; and if this is suffered to go on, it will be but a short time before you are fighting, knocking each other down and taking life. It is time it was stopped.
>
> "I do not want to hear any more such reports as I heard last Sunday of men going to services and preaching to the rest after playing cards until meeting time. You are a set of men going to look out a location among the mountains for a resting place for the saints—even the whole Church of God—who have been driven out from the Gentiles and rejected by them. And after you have established a location you are then going out to preach the Gospel, seal salvation upon the house of Israel. . . . How would you look if they should know your conduct and ask you what you did when you went to seek out Zion and find a

> resting place for the saints where the standard of the Kingdom of God could be reared and her banners unfurled for the nations to gather unto?
>
> "You must stop your swearing and profane language for it is in this camp and I know it. Most of the camp belong to the Church, nearly all; there are a few however who do not. I am the man who will stand up for them and protect them in all their rights. But they must reverence the name of God and honour this priesthood."

At no time, in no circumstances, did Brigham Young more fittingly prove his implicit trust in God—and in his own power of mind and soul than in this great exodus of a helpless, hopeless though not faithless people. He knew that men and women carry within themselves each his own source of peace or of trouble, of cheer or of gloom, of harmony or of discontent, then as always.

An amusing evidence of the Leader's keen practical psychology as well as his sense of humour and great wisdom was his appointment of a novel office-holder. Annoyed and harassed by constant complaints and criticisms, Brigham Young called the company together and announced that Elder ——, the chief offender, was appointed as the official "Camp Grumbler." He added that all complaints in the future were to be registered with the official "Grumbler" and through him would be formally laid before the leading council of the camp. Needless to add that the camp was about evenly divided between those who laughed and those who took the whole proceeding as a solemn matter. The "Grumbler" himself was so busy trying to explain himself and still listen to others that he forgot to find fault with the Leader.

# IX

## ENTRANCE INTO "THE VALLEY"

Anxiety of the Party concerning their Destination—Leader's Assurance that the Place Will Be Revealed—Travellers Encountered *En Route*—Disheartening Reports of Great Salt Lake Valley—"No Corn Can Grow There!"—Advised to Go to California—Illness of Brigham Young—The Advance Scouting Party—Hacking a Path through Mountain Forests—First Views of Salt Lake Valley—"This is the Place, Drive on!"—A Sun-Baked Basin Enclosed by Mountains—Potatoes and Seeds Planted by the First Arrivals—Attitude of the Three Women Pioneers—The Guiding Principle.

THE hardy band of pioneer travellers from Somewhere to Nowhere asked Brigham Young daily: Where were they going? When would they reach there? What would the place be like? Why not this or that plan, this or that place? Add to these mind-afflictions the unbroken roads of the desert wilds, Indians, wild animals, desolation, complete isolation from all humankind; death, birth, sickness, hunger, weariness, and above all the dark uncertainty of the future, these would assail the mind at times and cloud faith in spite of everything.

That Brigham Young was entering blindly on a journey into the trackless wilderness is unthinkable. In his address at Garden Grove where a temporary settlement had been effected, as they were just starting out, he had told the people, April 24, 1846, that: "The main body of the pioneers would push on and lengthen the cords and build a few more stakes," and so continue until "they could all gather at the place appointed, and build the House of the Lord on the tops of the mountains." Yet it is certain that he knew not the exact location, nor would he know till he arrived at the place he had seen in vision.

Erastus Snow testified: "When President Young was questioned by any of the pioneers as to the definite point of our destination, all he would say to them was, he would know it when he saw it." His destination was foreshadowed in prophecy made by Joseph Smith and this was reinforced by his own vision of "The Place," received before the journey began.

At this period of American history the authorities at Washington were virtually in an indeterminate chaotic geographic quandary. Just where did the United States begin and end? What were the boundary lines between Mexico and the United States, and between British America, or Canada as it is now called, and the United States? If the Americans in the United States were uncertain on these points Mexico and Great Britain were not. For up in the north-west, British fur-traders and outriders for British dominion had a fixed definite policy. All of western America, that is, west and north of the Mississippi, was claimed for the British, while Mexico was in possession of everything west and south of the Rockies.

Two Catholic friars, Dominguez and Escalante, had first explored the western country in 1776–77. They came out of Mexico and travelled as far north as the Provo River and Utah Lake, but did not discover Great Salt Lake. Colonel James Bridger was probably the first white man to see and locate the lake in 1824. Lewis and Clark in 1804–06 had traversed the north-western section away up into Oregon and Vancouver. John Jacob Astor sent out his fur-traders in 1811 and from then on a trickling stream of fur-traders and adventurers cut across the great north-western lands. While the majority of these men were Americans, few of them had any definite purpose except that of enriching themselves with the fur-trade business, though each performed his part in the exploration and exploitation of the uncharted West.

By the year 1843, however, the determined policy of both Great Britain and Mexico alarmed the eastern politicians at the seat of Government in Washington—who usually were so busy quarrelling over the question of states' rights and a strong central government—that neither hardly dared nor desired to take over any more doubtful territories in the West, either Oregon or Texas. Mexico claimed all of California and indeed all of the Rocky Mountain territory, hence the Mexican war which was now on; and with the United States army sent out to conquer Mexico in Texas and on the western coast went the Mormon battalion in 1846. Mexico City was taken; and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on February 2, 1846, making Texas, all of the Rocky Mountain country and California, American possessions. The treaty with Great Britain was signed in June, 1846, making the line between Canada and the United States just what it is to-day, and securing Oregon for the United States. But the Mexican claims were still unsettled.

It was into this political maelstrom of western conquest and colonisation that Brigham Young dared to venture. He was American to the bone, and loyal to his country and to his God!

Trappers and Indian traders had built a rude fort on the Platte River called by them Fort Laramie, which afterwards became a half-way station between Winter Quarters and the Rocky Mountain basin. Brigham Young camped near this fort on June 1, his birthday. It is doubtful if anyone remembered that, even himself. There was too much to do to spend time or thought on trifles. He was just forty-six years old that day. The next day some of the company crossed the river in a boat of sole-leather, fashioned by Ira Eldredge and used by him in ferrying his family when they crossed the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. It had been brought along as a wagon box. It served to carry over, not only the pioneers, but became a source of revenue afterwards in ferrying others across. The journey from there on for some distance followed the Oregon trail, and several emigrant trains of Oregon settlers were passed on the way.

A few miles out from Fort Laramie, the pioneers met a party of returning hunters led by Major Moses Harris, who had been in Oregon. He was somewhat acquainted with the western country and had lived in different posts for twenty-five years. He talked long with the Leaders, giving detailed information of the Rocky Mountain basin valleys. He discouraged all thought of settling there and painted gloomy pictures of its arid character and the scarcity of timber. He also gave much information concerning California and painted its attractions in glowing colours.

On June 28, while camped on Little Sandy, Colonel James Bridger, one of the best informed of western scouts, came into camp and remained there with his small company overnight. He, too, was carefully questioned by Brigham Young about the Great Salt Lake Valley and adjoining country. He also gave a most disheartening report of the conditions there, stating, according to Brigham's journal: "Mr. Young, I would give a thousand dollars if I knew an ear of corn could be ripened in these mountains. I have tried it in vain over and over again."

He did not know the iron will of the man he addressed, an iron tempered into steel by the flame of faith which glowed upon the altar of his daily sacrifice. "I told him if he would wait a year or two we would show him what could be done; and no mistake was made"—as he afterwards related the story.

Before the pioneers crossed the Platte, several men from Fort Laramie came over to camp announcing themselves as Mormons from Mississippi, the vanguard of a large body of men and women waiting down in Pueblo to know what to do and where to go. Those in Pueblo had placed themselves under Captain James Brown, who was in charge of the sick battalion boys left to winter there by Colonel Kearney. There were seventeen in all of these Mississippians who had pushed on up to Fort Laramie to join the pioneers in their search for The Place. Brigham Young received them cordially and they joined his party, going on with them into the valley. Those in Pueblo came on a little later with Captain Brown and the battalion boys. Amasa Lyman and three other men on horseback and with mules were sent down to Pueblo to bring up the rest of the Mississippi company of over one hundred saints to meet the pioneers in the Rocky Mountains.

In Brigham Young's journal of later date occurs the following: "As I remember, there was no trail after leaving Laramie, going over the Black Hills, except very rarely. For a short distance before reaching the Sweetwater, we saw a wagon track; it was a great surprise and a great curiosity." Again: "Being encamped on what is now known as Tar Springs, the pioneers were met by a mountaineer named Goodyear, who had wintered on the site of the present city of Ogden, after planting grain and vegetables in the valley, but with meagre results." The mountaineer's report was very discouraging, but to him also Brigham Young replied: "Give us time and we will show you."

Meanwhile the Mormon people in California were prospering so well that they hoped the entire body of the Church would settle along the California coast. For that reason, Elder Samuel Brannan and two companions had hurried across the Sierras to meet Brigham Young and to persuade him to go on to the luxuriant vales of California. They met at Green River in Wyoming on June 30, 1847. Brannan brought two copies of his paper, *The California Star,* and the latest news of the battalion. He extolled the great attractions of California and the wonders of its climate and foliage. (He thus became the great original Californiac!) However, Brigham Young knew by an inner light that had guided him along the journey that the people were to settle somewhere in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. So all the powers of persuasion of these men failed. Brannan remained with the pioneers until nearly a month after their entrance into the Great Salt Lake Valley.

July 4 fell on a Sunday and the camp met for services with especial reference to American independence. In the afternoon of that day thirteen soldiers from Captain Brown's detachment, came up from Pueblo on a horse-hunt. They were the vanguard of the battalion boys and were met with three cheers for the battalion. They too gave glowing pictures of California's attractions.

Brigham Young was familiar with the comparatively ideal conditions of California on the west and Oregon on the northwest, from his studies of Fremont's written descriptions and from other sources of information. Personal recitals were full of admiration for the beauties and advantages of the Pacific slopes. They described in glowing language the possibilities of an empire in the rich valleys of the Pacific shore-lands. So, indeed, did passing trappers and emigrants from Oregon. His own brother joined in this appeal, attempting to divert his thoughts away from settlement in "such a barren, God-forsaken country as would be found in the Rocky Mountains;" adding that "there was plenty of room in California." To them all he answered: "Wait and you will see." Brigham Young heeded only the voice of inspiration and revelation, to his profit and to the future glory of Zion. He did not, could not, know the exact location of his vision-valley. "I shall know the place when I see it," was the only reply to questions he ever made.

As yet he knew nothing about the Salt Lake Valley except what he heard from Bridger, Harris, and Goodyear, or had gleaned from the reports of Fremont's expedition.

It was his invincible faith in God's divine guidance that stiffened the courage of his associates and carried the pioneers on their thousand-mile journey. It was also the unfaltering confidence of his people, not only in the infinite power from on High but as well in his matchless leadership as a man, which preserved the perfect morale of the marching army of the Lord. God was with the Leader and the people knew it. He and their Leader were their only pilots, their sole reliance.

Trouble and hardship had always dogged their trail. Their route along the north branch of the Platte River was devoid of vegetation. They had cut cottonwoods for their horses to browse upon, and at this last lap, they were obliged to give up their own scanty stores of grain, flour and biscuits to the weakened animals, themselves living wholly on game and fish, as did most of the trappers and hunters.

Road-making was a vast enterprise of itself. But now new problems faced them. They began to climb into the fastnesses of the mountains. Horses and trappers might go where teams and wagons could not. Crossing the rough and jagged foothills of the Rocky Mountains, along the occasional bed of a plunging canyon stream, then chopping and crashing their way upward through dense forests of virgin timber and gnarled brush, they reached the Echo Canyon slope, and here the company halted to rest teams and mend broken wagons. Here Brigham Young and a number of others suffered attacks of so-called "mountain fever." His body might be bowed but his spirit marched on to The Place!

When the weary and dusty train finally reached the canyons of the Western Rockies which led into the Salt Lake Valley, the Leader was still lying sick in his wagon. The camps were unwilling to move without him. But he called Apostle Orson Pratt to him and directed him to take twenty-three wagons and forty-two men and proceed to the Great Salt Lake country. The ill-fated Donner party had made a trail through the mountains the previous year and they were to find that, if possible, and follow it.

Orson Pratt's road as well as his task was an exceedingly difficult one. Down Echo Canyon they crashed, and crossed the rushing stream, back and forth, back and forth, making little headway, for they had to cut brush and throw aside huge boulders to make a possible road for those who were following later. The mountains towered a thousand feet above them, the crags and peaks twisted and piled into curious shapes. Orson Pratt took his elevation, frequently finding it 5,301 feet above sea level. The ravines, canyons, streams and mountains which they faced were all comparatively new to these travellers, and little in their past experience helped them to solve their rough road problems.

The advance party left the stream after a four-mile descent, and took up the trail toward East Canyon. Men with axes and spades went ahead of the wagon train. Six miles up the canyon brought them to the divide. Leaving East Canyon the trail turned towards Big Mountain. It was from the summit of this mountain that these hardy scouts first saw the western rim of the mountains surrounding the Great Salt Lake Valley on Monday, July 19, 1847. But they were not there! Down Big Mountain they must go, and so down into what they called later Emigration Canyon.

Here, on July 21, they were overtaken by Brigham Young's trusted messenger, Erastus Snow. Certain it is that no two men in the camp or in the Church could better fill this scouting-mission leading into the final resting place of the people—Orson Pratt, great scientist, scholar, philosopher; Erastus Snow, second only to his leader as a pioneer, state builder and leader of men. Erastus Snow reported the extreme illness of the Leader and others which had alarmed the brethren; how prayer meetings had been held and though Brigham Young's health had improved he was still very weak. Further "Brother Brigham had sent word that the company were to bear to the north when they entered the valley, and there they would find a stream of water near which they should camp. . . . They were to begin at once ploughing up the ground and planting seed." How Brigham Young was aware of the existence of the stream puzzled Erastus Snow; and he was at a loss, too, to understand his advice about ploughing. "If the ground is as hard and as sterile as reported how can we put our ploughs in?" he had asked. "Throw up a dam," replied Brigham Young, "and let the water soak the land, then it will soften up, so you can plough it." Such was the dramatic beginning of the conquest of the western two-fifths of the United States.

Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow decided to go on in advance and leave the party to follow with the road-building labour, as there was much of that to do, while they made their way on horseback into the valley. They used the old trail followed by the Donner party, crossed the creek and climbed a steep hill on a butte which commands a view of the valley. The two men expected this to be but an arm of prairie extending up from the valley. But, as they came out on the butte, both uttered a shout of joy at the scene before them. An arid, sage-covered valley it was, to be sure, but it was broad with a blue lake shimmering in the west; great mountain peaks rimming it on all sides, their tops majestic in their giant contours. They could see several small, willow-fringed creeks flowing out of canyon mouths and the whole scene was beautiful to their weary peace-seeking eyes.

Down into the "Valley of Promise" rode these hardy scouts, fulfilling to the letter the advice of their leaders. They returned with good news. The scouting party reached the creek "to the north" on July 22. "About two hours after our arrival," records Orson Pratt, "we began to plow; and the same afternoon built a dam to irrigate the sod, which at the place where we were plowing was exceedingly dry."

The main body of the pioneers rested only so long as the illness of the Leader made it inexpedient to travel. Finally his health improved and the men struck the last tents, shouldered axes, repaired broken wagons and shovels and, picking up the trail, camped in East Canyon on the night of July 22. They crossed Big Mountain next day, Brigham Young riding in Wilford Woodruff's light spring wagon. Down through the ravines he came with grinding wheels, chain-locked, tossing from one gully to another, but ever sustained by the hope and faith which had brought him and his people thither. Along beside him dashed the mountain stream, plunging down out of the canyon's mouth to lose itself in the barrenness of the wide valley. Just at the point where the valley opened before them the Leader requested his friend Elder Woodruff to turn the wagon round so that he could look upon the scene spread out before him. He raised himself in his wagon couch. What a view!

The valley was known only to the Indians and rare trappers and was infested with lizards and crickets. Away to the west glistened the bitter waters of the Great Salt Sea of America, its bosom flecked with island mountains and its contributing streams flowing from the clearer waters in other valleys.

Brigham Young has recorded how as he lay there in the wagon he saw in vision the valley filled with homes, sun-bowered with verdure, and a Temple with its heaven-reaching spires. It was the beginning of the fulfilment of his vision, the "place in the tops of the Rocky Mountains," foretold by the Prophet Joseph Smith. He, himself, had seen in a vision given to him while he was praying in the Nauvoo Temple, an ensign coming down from heaven and resting upon the very mountain peak upon which he now gazed. Laconically but dramatically he spoke: "This is the right place, drive on!"

The scouting party had formed an encampment on a stream, drawing up their wagons in an oblong square the day previous to Brigham Young's entry into the valley.

On the arrival of the Leader, on July 24, the whole camp stood at attention. Well they might! There were seeds to plant; a city to plan; farms to locate; irrigating streams and dams to construct; houses, a fort, church, corrals and chicken coops to build. The disgusting crickets which swarmed up every brush and grass blade might be food for Digger Indians but they were a filthy nuisance to the whites and especially to their cleanly women, who were soon busy at household tasks.

"When we arrived on the ground the brethren had commenced ploughing," records Wilford Woodruff who drove the wagon in which Brigham Young rode. "I had a bushel of potatoes with me, and I resolved that I would neither eat nor drink until I had planted them. I got them into the ground by one o'clock and these with the potatoes that the other brethren had planted, became the foundation for the future potato crops of Utah."

What were the feelings and views of the three women who had accompanied the advance guard of pioneers? Men may plough and build, but women and children give life, cohesion and glory to these outer substances. Like those who were to follow they were types of their sex. Harriet Young, wife of Lorenzo Young, cried out at the desolation about her. "Weak and weary as I am," she exclaimed, "I would rather go a thousand miles farther than remain in such a forsaken place as this." But she was a heroine and quietly accepted her lot; when she knew that this was to be The Place, she shouldered her burden and "carried on" to a happy fruition of home and love. Ellen Kimball, wife of Heber C. Kimball, said nothing; but she worked with zeal to make a home in the wilderness. Clara Decker Young, Brigham's lovely young wife, said, "I am satisfied. We enjoyed the social life of Winter Quarters; but things do not look dreary to me here. There are no trees, but they can be planted." And she went calmly to work making a peaceful home out of wagon boxes.

Brigham Young had led this pioneer company with heavily laden wagons more than one thousand miles over uncharted roads and mountains, and through almost impassable canyons, building bridges, fording streams and rivers, thus making the trail easier for others to follow. And on the others came. No accepted principle of economics or sociology could have brought and held together this large number of immigrants into a strange and forbidding land, far inferior in all natural appearances and apparent resources to those they had left behind, and to the promise of the distant countries of Oregon and California. What was it that caused these pioneers to listen to the often unwelcome advice of their Leader? That guiding principle was always: Faith in God, and in His revealed word.

# X

## THE FIRST WINTER

Why a Desert Land Was Chosen—Crops Planted—Indian Visitors—Ensign Peak Climbed and Named—Temple Site Selected—Laying Out the New City—Leader Disowns Personal Credit—First Month in the Valley—Members of Mormon Battalion Arrive—A Bowery Erected—Building a Fort and Homes—Brannan Returns to California—The Leaders Leave for Winter Quarters.

THE Valley of the Great Salt Lake, as seen by the Mormon pioneers was a forbidding place—bleak, barren, and desolate. Brigham Young must have sensed, however, that had they chosen the seemingly more fertile coast country, it would be but a few short years until a hostile civilisation would be crowding upon their path with its insistent heartless cry: "The Mormons must be destroyed!" Here in these unwanted, inhospitable desert wastes the people might at least have peace; and they would trust the future to their Father's guidance as they had done in the past.

On the very afternoon of the pioneers' arrival not only were potatoes planted, but seeds and grains as well. On that afternoon, too, they had definite evidence of their Indian neighbours. Wanship, chief of the Ute Indians, came into camp, followed by fifteen of his braves. They were curious to see a white man, and more curious to know something about the white man's future programme. The offering of signs, instead of speech, a present of bread from chief to chief, and an all-round pleasant exchange of civilities was interrupted with a wild Indian yell and shouts from the crowd in the background. Three young braves had sprung upon three of the pioneer horses and were fleeing to the canyons. The whole

Indian band, led by Wanship, mounted their ponies and gave chase. In an hour, one of the stolen horses was returned. Two of the Indian thieves were killed, the third one escaped.

Certainly the pioneers were not to be left entirely in peace, do all they might, and isolated as they were. There were still the Indians all about them, and not all of them were good Indians, any more than all of the whites were good men.

During that long journey the Sabbath had been strictly observed in spirit and as a literal resting from arduous labour as well as a day in which to offer worship and prayers to the Most High. The day after their arrival, the 25th, was the Sabbath, and everybody spent the time in cleanly preparation for and participation in the excellent services which marked that day. Then the people gathered for Sunday service. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. Apostles George A. Smith and Heber C. Kimball spoke in the morning, while in the afternoon Apostle Orson Pratt preached an eloquent discourse on the prophecies of Isaiah concerning the establishment of the Lord's House in the tops of the mountains. Too feeble to stand, Brigham Young sat in an arm-chair and told the brethren, says Apostle Woodruff: "That they must not work on the Sabbath; that they would lose five times as much as they would gain by it. None were to hunt or fish on that day, and there should not any man dwell amongst us who would not observe these rules. They might go and dwell where they pleased, but should not dwell with us. Every man would have his land measured out to him, for city and farming purposes. He might till it as he pleased, but he must be industrious and take care of it."

He then directed the organisation of three exploring parties, to explore the country north, west and south, for he wished every nook and corner known to the settlers. He said: "It is necessary that we should learn the facilities of the country and be able to report to our brethren whose eyes are turned toward us. But I can tell you before you start, that you will find many facilities for settlements all around us, and you will all return feeling satisfied that this is the most suitable place for us to make our commencement. Here is the place to build our city."

He told them there should be no private ownership of water, thus establishing that fundamental righteous principle of community ownership of public resources. That principle was to be adopted many years later by the United States Government.

On the following day, Monday, some of the men continued ploughing and planting, others went road-building into the canyons for wood, while Brigham Young and the Twelve went on an extensive exploring expedition of this wildly beautiful valley. The air was clean and exhilarating, the climate ideal. They first ascended the summit of a mountain on the north of the valley, the very peak which had arrested the Leader's attention when he first beheld the valley and whose very presence was consummation of his vision in the Nauvoo Temple as to this being "The Place." They named it Ensign Peak, a name it has borne ever since. Elder Woodruff was the first to gain the summit. Here they unfurled an Ensign of Liberty to the world. It will be remembered that the new-found country was Mexican soil, and was being taken possession of by the Mormon Battalion and Pioneers as a future great commonwealth of the United States.

It is significant that the first land-mark definitely decided upon by the people whom civilisation had "spurned" and refused to recognise should centre around a Temple to the Most High! Four days after their arrival, July 28, Brigham Young and a number of his associate brethren, walked from the temporary camp northward to a spot midway between the north and south forks of the stream of water named by them City Creek, and planting his stick at a certain spot, exclaimed: "Here we will build the Temple of our God." Elder Woodruff drove a stake into the small hole made by that cane point and there to-day stands that "frozen poem," the Salt Lake Temple.

That same evening a council meeting was held and the future city planned: "It was moved and carried that the city be laid out into lots of ten by twenty rods each, inclusive of the streets, and into blocks of eight lots, being ten acres in each block and one and a quarter acres in each lot. Each street to be a hundred and thirty-two feet wide with sidewalks twenty feet wide; each house to be built in the centre of the lot, twenty feet from the front, that there might be uniformity throughout the city. Four public squares of ten acres each to be laid out in various parts of the city for public parks and recreation grounds."

The ten acre Temple Block was to be the heart of the city. Streets were to be numbered out from that nucleus. No speculation in land was to be allowed and every man was to draw lots for his choice, as long as that was feasible. Trees were to shade the sidewalks and irrigating streams were to flow down each block in time and turn, as water increased and farms were not infringed upon. The farming lands were parcelled out in five, ten, and twenty acre fields, as they reached out from the city. Parks were to be provided and it was decided that the city be called "The City of the Great Salt Lake" afterwards called Salt Lake City. To-day it is admitted to be one of the finest planned cities in America and virtually the only one which, because of its spacious thoroughfares, all carried out as first designed, can efficiently handle modern motor traffic.

Brigham Young then and always refused to take any credit for his share in this mammoth undertaking. "I do not wish men to understand I had anything to do with our being moved here," he said. "That was the providence of the Almighty. It was the power of God that wrought out salvation for His people. I never could have devised such a scheme." The life of those early Utah pioneers was unique and interesting as well as trying and taxing, as it must have been at times. Their great accomplishments could not have been brought to fruition by weaklings in any sense; and indeed they were giants all, men and women as well.

The first entrants into the Valley after the final advent of the original band of pioneers on July 24, was the portion of the battalion under the leadership of Captain James Brown, which had been wintering at Pueblo. With them came also the rest of the Mississippi saints for whom Amasa Lyman had been sent from Fort Laramie as an escort to the Valley. These two groups entered the Salt Lake Valley on July 29, just five days after the advent of the main body of the pioneers. They were welcomed at the mouth of the canyon (a cloud-burst had prevented their meeting further up in the canyon), by Brigham Young, who with several of the leaders and the brass band had gone out to meet them. He gave them his blessings and assurances of the approval of their Heavenly Father in whose service they had engaged. All marched into the Valley to the strains of martial music.

They made camp midway between the two other camps, Orson Pratt's and Brigham's. They were now disbanded and took their natural places as individuals in the little community. Their members increased the pioneer group to about four hundred and fifty persons. They brought with them about sixty wagons, one carriage, one hundred horses and mules with three hundred head of cattle.

Then began for them as for all pioneers the earnest attempt to provide shelter till homes could be built. The men were anxious to be of use in the quick establishment of home life, for some of their families were even then on the march westward. At once they were directed by Brigham Young to build a "bowery" where public meetings could be held under the shade of fresh-cut boughs from willows and cottonwoods. It was forty feet long and twenty-eight feet wide. This place remained the summer gathering rendezvous for some years.

The cooling shade of fresh-plucked green leaves and the open view, with complete circulation, make a bowery an ideal summer gathering place. Good benches soon supplanted the rough-hewn timber seats and even a good rough dancing-floor was later added where Fourth and Twenty-Fourth of July celebrations might close their festivities with both banquets and dancing parties. It was duplicated in every Mormon settled valley and town, in the beginning of settlements.

The problem of housing the pioneer company was imperative. A home may be in a tent or a castle, but at least there must be protection from inclement weather, predatory animals and from prowling lawless humans. The Indians were not all friendly. There were several warlike tribes up and down the valleys of the whole country. Women and children must have some security from those who would annoy or assault. So the Leader had asked all the men not engaged in planting fields, cutting wood, exploring or hunting, to join him in building a fort of logs and sun-dried adobes. On August 10, general work was started on this stockade. There must be good windows and Brigham Young insisted on keeping them open or the people who had been used to being in the open air would fall ill with colds and fever. He was especially careful about the sewage and waste of both human and animal life, that all should be rigidly cleared away and, above all, kept from polluting the water.

A description of the fort tells us that: "The walls were twenty-seven inches thick and nine feet high on the outer side. It was built as a continuation of huts joined together in rectangular form around the outside of the ten acres on which it stood. The east side was built of logs, and the three other sides of adobe walls. The roofs slanted but slightly inward, and were made of brush covered with earth. Each house had a loop-hole facing the outside and a door and windows facing the interior. The main entrances, which were on the east and west sides of the stockade, were carefully guarded by heavy gates which were locked at night."

Twenty-nine houses were thus enclosed inside the month and Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were the first to take possession. Clara D. Young thus describes her pioneer home: "We were the first to move into the fort; our house had a door and wooden window, which through the day was taken out for light, and nailed in at night. There was a port-hole at the east end of the fort which could be opened and closed at pleasure. We had adobe chimneys and a fireplace in the corner with a clay hearth."

Elder Brannan, finding that his powers of persuasion failed to convince the modern Moses that California and not these barren desert vales was the real Promised Land, finally decided to return to the coast. He had remained with the pioneers since meeting them in June at the Green River and had shared their first pre-view of the majestic mountain and desert panorama. But California for him! On his return he carried with him a letter from the Leader to the saints in California, detailing at length the conditions in the Valley and remarking, "if you choose to tarry where you are, you are at liberty to do so; and if you choose to come to this place, you are at liberty to come and we shall be happy to receive you, and give you an inheritance in our midst."

On the west side of the Sierra Mountains they met the returning battalion boys who, after having been mustered out and honourably discharged at Los Angeles in July, 1847, were returning to their families and friends in the Valley.

Captain Brown told them that President Young had advised that those who were not well provided for, or who had no families in the camps, should remain in California for the winter and seek employment, that they might return in the spring with better equipment with which to meet the problems of settlement. About half of their number took this advice and remained. The others pursued their journey westward toward the Valley in the Rocky Mountains which to them seemed veritably to the Vales of the Blessed!

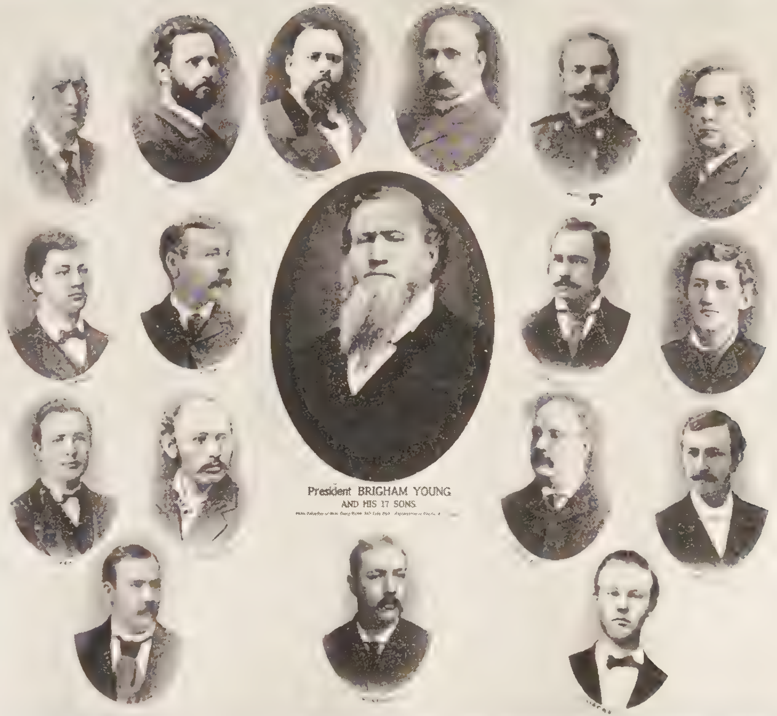
The first month spent by Brigham Young in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake was an epitome of all the years that were to follow. The United States flag was unfurled on the highest peak in the immediate neighbourhood, and the country declared a portion of the United States of America. A fort to house safely men, women and children was built. A flagstaff was erected in the fort where hung the lovely folds of the Stars and Stripes; and another staff held the Nauvoo Temple bell which pealed over the desert air the call for morning and evening prayer. A number of houses made of sun-dried brick, or adobe, were built and ready for occupancy; a site for the Temple was chosen, a roomy summer "bowery" for Sabbath services was centrally placed, and provision was made for a meeting hall in the fort for winter use; irrigation was seriously and permanently instituted; seeds of many varieties of garden produce for the use and benefit of the settlers were planted; ten acres of corn, wheat, and other grains were planted and growing; the surrounding country was explored, and names were given to lakes, streams, mountains, valleys and town sites; arrangements were made for the organisation later of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion, with proper quorums and governing functions; the site and plan of the future Salt Lake City were selected and named; other city sites to the north and south, east and west, were chosen; civic matters were left, temporarily, under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and provision was made for the care and allotment of land for incoming immigrations.

At this time, John Smith, a cousin of the Prophet Joseph Smith, was appointed to preside over the saints in the Valley, since Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were arranging to lead a party back to Winter Quarters (where waited the main body of the Church), preparing them to emigrate in the spring to the Valley. The exodus of the body of the Church would be most difficult and could be handled best by men who were familiar with the route. The first pioneers were but the advance guard.

To the present-day reader it might seem that these tired, harassed men, sturdy though they might be, would want to have some rest after that long exhausting journey over trackless wastes. Also that if it were imperative that some would have to return to oversee the immigration of the next year or the piloting of those already on the road, that the Leader would decide that his duty was here and would send some of his associates back to fulfil that thankless task. Not so Brigham Young! We find him taking the lead in all difficult tasks, never asking another to do what he himself would be unwilling to do. He asks the assembly of men, "Who will be willing to accompany me back to Winter Quarters?" not "Who will be willing to go back?" and sets out upon preparations for the return journey within one month of his arrival as a sick man! Not until all had been made safe for those who were to remain behind, however!

On August 2, the people were called together for a special conference with the Leaders before their return journey to Winter Quarters. The services were held in the Bowery and the Leader asked if they would agree to fence the city and farms adjoining in order to protect cattle and crops. He said: "By this means, we can raise thousands of bushels of grain next season for ourselves and also some to sustain those who shall come after us. I would rather fence a block of ten acres, and have a crop, than plant a hundred acres for the cattle to destroy." Many other instructions were given.

The leaders who were returning knew they would find part of their families in the on-coming trains headed towards the Valley. Others knew their families were still waiting in Winter Quarters for their return. Word had been left with the saints in Winter Quarters to follow in varying numbers, each company being organised after the pattern followed by the first company of pioneers.


President BRIGHAM YOUNG
AND HIS 17 SONS

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND SOME OF HIS SONS

On the road back they met several west-bound companies. One company was met near the Little Sandy River. Here was found considerable confusion existing, and conditions had arisen which necessitated correction of company leaders for their failure to obey the rules of camp travelling. At a council meeting held on September 3, two of them were sharply rebuked for undoing what the majority of the Twelve had decided upon. This correction was at first resented, but afterwards all joined in a vote to sustain each other. "If we are willing to receive reproof, we shall live in love and our hearts will be cemented together." Heber C. Kimball then addressed Brigham Young, saying: "I want you, Brother Brigham, to save yourself, for you are wearing down. I feel tender towards you to live, and if I and my brethren do wrong, tell us of it, and we will repent. Brother Brigham is going to be greater than he was; he will be greater in strength, in beauty, and in glory." No one but a sorely harassed leader may ever know what such loyalty of support and friendship meant at this trying period of adjustment and re-adjustment.

Altogether more than fifteen hundred men, women and children, with five hundred and sixty wagons and five thousand head of stock, were all on their way to the Valley. These companies of emigrants were in charge of Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, of the Council of the Apostles. Parley P. Pratt's company was met on September 7, at the Sweet Water. Here the two divisions, one leaving the Rocky Mountains and the other entering them, met with joyous greetings and Brigham Young suggested they should remain over a day and have a jubilee. The women unpacked their dishes and table furnishings with considerable difficulty but with great delight. A fat heifer was killed and every available luxury the camp afforded was produced and enjoyed. Music and dancing, stories of pioneer experiences enlivened the afternoon and evening, under the shade of the brush bowery which the men had hastily erected. After prayer the company dispersed to their tents and wagons and the remains of the feast were taken by Brigham Young's company, as they were short of provisions for their long trip eastward.

The lonely and charming pioneer girl-wife, Clara Decker Young, wrote a letter which she forwarded to her husband by the scouts sent out east from the Valley. The letter contained touching details: it was dated October 3, 1847:

> "I felt very lonesome after you left; it seemed to me that I was a lone child, though in a pleasant land. . . . Joseph W. Young (a nephew) arrived here the Tuesday after you left; he was hailed as a welcome messenger, I assure you. The first question I asked him was when and where he left you and how your health was. On September 15th, another messenger came and told us that the rear companies were in great want of help. Some teams were started to their assistance. September 19th, twenty wagons came into the Valley, being the first from any of the companies. On the night of the 29th, Brother Jedediah M. Grant came here, bringing with him the body of his wife for burial; she died the Sunday morning before on Bear River. I followed her remains to the grave the next morning, September 30th, which made me feel very lonesome. He (Elder Grant) started back the next day, October 2nd, to meet and take some help for his company. Last night, October 2nd, your folks and wagons got in all well and safe, I believe. It was a very dusty, dark day, and they felt rather lonesome at first, but after they got their suppers, they seemed better contented. This morning (the Sabbath), the 'temple bell' rang out and a large congregation came together. . . . The garden has been considerably destroyed by the cattle. The first frost here occurred on the 7th of September; it was very light, however. About the 19th it nipped the potatoes somewhat, but now the weather is as warm as when you were here. . . . Brother John Young has just arrived; he called on me and found me writing and wished me to say to you that he feels well and satisfied, and more than satisfied, feeling so thankful that he could drink water from the crystal streams that run from the mountains.
>
> "Your loving wife,
> "CLARA D. YOUNG."

Some weeks later, on October 31, only a day's journey from Winter Quarters, occurred an incident which proved the wisdom of the Leader and his fine understanding of human relations. He was truly a practical psychologist though the science, as such, was then unborn. He called all the men of his company together and addressed them as follows: "Brethren, I will say to the pioneers, I wish you would receive my thanks for your kindness and willingness to obey orders. We are satisfied with you; you have done well. We have accomplished more than we expected. The one hundred and forty-three men who started, some of them sick, are all well. Not a man has died; and we have not lost a horse, mule or ox, except through carelessness. The blessings of the Lord have been with us. If the brethren are satisfied with me and the Twelve, please signify it with uplifted hands. (All hands were raised.) I feel to bless you in the name of the Lord God of Israel. You are dismissed to go to your homes."

The companies were welcomed with open arms in Winter Quarters and re-unions were enjoyed by the men who had been separated from their families for over six months.

The prairie city of Winter Quarters was feverishly busy during the fall and winter of 1847–48, preparing for their departure in the spring. Frequent sessions of council meetings were held and instructions were given that all the people with their available foodstuffs and supplies should be prepared for removal to the Valley in the early spring. The Church records were to be gathered and preserved. Especially vital were the instructions of Brigham Young concerning the poor among the saints, for the widows and orphans were to be given first place and thought in the proposed removal to the west.

## XI

## LIFE IN THE VALLEY

Pioneer Conditions in the Valley—First Flour Mill—Clothing Problem—Cricket Plague—Sea Gulls Prevent Famine—Life in Winter Quarters Preparations for the Westward Journey—2,500 People on the March—Arrival in the Valley—Need of Conserving Foodstuffs—Under Ecclesiastical Authority—The Bishops' Courts—Woman's Participation.

During the summer and autumn of 1847, thirteen companies arrived in the Valley, making a total of 2,095 souls for the year. Among these were many women and children.

Eliza R. Snow gives the following graphic pen-picture of the conditions during the first winter:

> "I stayed with Clara Decker Young who came with the Pioneers. She was living in a log-house about eighteen feet square, which constituted a portion of the east side of the Fort. . . . This hut, like most of those built the first year, was roofed with willows and earth, the roof having but little pitch, the first comers having adopted the idea that the valley was subject to little if any rain, and our roofs were nearly flat. We suffered no inconvenience from this fact until about the middle of March, when a long storm of snow, sleet and rain occurred, and for several days the sun did not make its appearance. The roof of our dwelling was covered deeper with earth than the adjoining ones, consequently it did not leak so soon, and some of my neighbours huddled in for shelter; but one evening, when several were sitting around, the water commenced dripping in one place, and then in another, they dodged it for a while, but it increased so rapidly that they finally concluded they might as well go to their own wet houses. After they had gone I spread my umbrella over my head and shoulders as I ensconced myself in bed, the lower part of which, not shielded by the umbrella, was wet enough before morning. The earth overhead was thoroughly saturated, and after it commenced to drip the storm was much worse indoors than out."

But conditions were soon bettered.

Despite the difficulties of communication between the Valley and Winter Quarters, letters were written and separated families heard from each other. The pioneers had placed posts at convenient points along the route, leaving messages and letters in the box. Where posts failed, even buffalo skulls, whitened and marked, were used as mail-boxes. From Fort Laramie, these posts were only nine miles apart, as the roads over the mountains were new and dangerous.

A flour mill had been established on the creek near the city, and here the people ground their wheat; their bread was real "health bread," for there was no bolting cloth and the shorts and bran were an honest part of the flour. Meat was scarce, butter and fat were at a premium. Occasionally wild meat was brought in; wild sego lily and parsnip roots were used as vegetables; thistle tops were eaten and became an important article of diet. In later winters the women made an effort to make their own sugar and molasses from beets, corn-stalks and water-melons; none was made during the first winter as grain was their chief means of subsistence.

It is interesting to know that President John Taylor made the first attempt among the pioneers a year or two later to manufacture sugar. He constructed a rude apparatus to squeeze out sorghum stalks, but the experiment was not altogether successful. Then came in later years mills built out of lumber with wide whirling water wheels, to make sugar out of beets and corn-stalks.

Clothing was an item of difficult achievement. The spinning wheel and hand-loom were already in use. Their chief reliance at that early day was upon buffalo hair and cow hair. Blankets were woven with these and exchanged with the Indians. A man was dressed throughout in a suit made from the curly hair of his dog, which was sheared annually. The skins of goats and deer were made into both clothing and shoes. Men and women walked across the plains, some wore moccasins, some were barefoot.

"I will venture to say," said Brigham Young, "that not one of four out of my family had shoes to their feet when we came to this Valley." That condition did not last, it is true, but thousands of emigrants were as Brigham Young said at another time: ". . . poor when they came into this Valley. . . . They picked up a few buckskins, antelope skins, sheep and buffalo skins and made leggings and moccasins of them, and wrapped the buffalo robes around them. Some had blankets and some had not; some had shirts and some had not. One man told me he had not a shirt for himself or family."

That girl-wife pioneer, Clara D. Young, had shoes, however, and wore a calico dress with the usual home-made sun-bonnet. Certainly some of Brigham Young's wives were shoeless, Lucy B. Young, the writer's mother, did not have any. But her moccasins were comfortable, and needed to be, for she walked nearly all of the way. Excellent for health, and nobody heard these women grumble! And most of them knew how to turn the sheep's wool into bright clothing which they did as soon as they were once settled in the Valley.

John R. Young, who still lives, one of the sons of Brigham Young's brother, Lorenzo, describing the first winter in the Valley, says: "For several months we had no bread. Beef, milk, pig-weeds, segoes, and thistles formed our diet. I was the herd boy, and while out watching the stock, I used to eat thistle stalks until my stomach would be as full as a cow's. At last the hunger was so sharp that father took down an old bird-pecked ox-hide from the branch of a gnarled dwarf oak bush, that stood on our lot and converted it into delicious soup, which was enjoyed by the family as a rich treat."

In the early summer of 1848, just before the return of Brigham Young and the main body of the pioneers, occurred a tragic devastation. The thrifty settlers had denied themselves during the trying winter that they might have seeds and grain to plant for a plenteous harvest the following season. They well knew how they would need it. Just as the crops were giving promise of a much needed harvest, swarms of crickets hovered over the ploughed lands like a devastating army, darkening the earth for miles around, eating off every blade of grain and every growing thing. Men, women and children tried to fight them for days, in every possible manner; they were driven into ditches where they were set on fire. But in vain their toil. Every possible means of extinguishing the pests was tried and the people were in despair. They were powerless to beat back the black hordes of the destroyers. The land was as a scorched and flame-swept field. The tragedy was theirs—and God's! They had given their all into the bosom of Mother Earth!

When the pioneers found their seed-grain and vegetables exhausted, themselves twelve hundred miles from any possible replenishment from other stores, famine staring them in the face (not only for themselves, but for the on-coming thousands trekking their way from Nauvoo and the Missouri River) they drew near to the Lord, their only and unfailing refuge.

A three-day fast and prayer was called under the direction of Patriarch John Smith in which all the people joined. And behold, a miracle! Rising from the borders of the lake appeared myriads of snow-white gulls. From whence they came and what was their purpose the pioneers could not determine. Could it be another scourge? Settling upon fields, black with the millions of crickets, the gulls seized them and swallowed them as if unable to fully gorge themselves. When their crops were full the birds would hop over to a ditch, bank or convenient hillock and disgorge themselves, and then return again to feed upon the countless crickets. The people stood in awe at this direct answer to their prayer.

All that Sabbath day the people went about in thankful prayer, and on the morrow they found the edges of their water ditches piled with dead crickets, thrown up by the greedy gulls. To escape the birds, the crickets would hop into the water creeks or ditches and millions were destroyed in that way. At evening the birds arose in a cloud and disappeared beyond the western horizon. Each day at sunrise they returned until the scourge was passed. God had heard and answered the prayers of his isolated and helpless people!

John R. Young thus describes his experience during the cricket plague. The family had settled just out of City Creek Canyon.

> "As the summer crept on, and the scant harvest drew nigh, the fight with the crickets commenced. Oh, how we fought and prayed and battled against the myriads of black, loathsome insects that flowed down like a flood of filthy water from the mountainside. And we should surely have been inundated, and swept into oblivion, save for the merciful Father's sending of the blessed sea gulls to our deliverance.
>
> "The first I knew of the gulls, I heard their sharp cry. Upon looking up, I beheld what appeared like a vast flock of pigeons coming from the northwest. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon. My brother Franklin and I were trying to save an acre of wheat of father's, growing not far from where the Salt Lake Theatre now stands. The wheat was just beginning to turn yellow. The crickets would climb the stalk, bite off the head, then come down and eat it. To prevent this, my brother and I each took an end of a long rope, stretched it full length, then walked through the grain holding the rope so as to hit the heads, and thus knock the crickets off. From sunrise till sunset we kept at this labour; for as darkness came the crickets sought shelter, but with the rising of the sun they commenced their ravages again.
>
> "I have been asked how numerous were the gulls? There must have been thousands of them. Their coming was like a great cloud; and when they passed between us and the sun, a shadow covered the field. I could see the gulls settling for more than a mile around us. They were very tame, coming within four or five yards of us.
>
> "At first we thought that they, also, were after the wheat, and this added to our terror; but we soon discovered that they devoured only the crickets. Needless to say, we quit drawing the rope, and let our gentle visitors have full possession of the field. As I remember it, the gulls came every morning for about three weeks, when their mission was apparently ended, and they ceased coming. The precious crops were saved.
>
> "I have met those who were sceptical about the gulls being sent by Divine Providence, for the salvation of our people; but I believe it most firmly, as witness the preparedness of the Indians. They kept hand baskets purposely made to put in the creek to catch the loathsome insects

> as they floated down the streams, and then made them into silage that would keep for months. Their skill in this convinces me that the coming of the crickets had been continuous for ages. Nor had the cricket crop ever been interrupted before until our people came, and the coming of the gulls checked the increase of the loathsome insects."

From that day to the present the gull has been a sacred bird to the residents of Utah. In the Temple Block may be seen a monument commemorating this incident, a beautiful doric column surmounted by a group of fluttering sea gulls; believed to be the first monument ever erected to bird life.

Life in Winter Quarters where dwelt Brigham Young and many of the Twelve Apostles during the winter of 1847–48, was crowded with preparations to move westwards. Interspersed with sickness and some deaths were the sounds of winter's forced labour on carpenter's bench, blacksmith's forge, the spinning wheel and the whirring looms. Yet little children were school-taught, youths and maidens were lovewise, parents and grandparents prayed and suffered together as one great family-community.

Always the Leader, following the example of his predecessor, was diligently educating the people to think and act for themselves. There are so many followers in this world, so few leaders; so many leaners, so few lifters. The Gospel is designed to correct that tendency by putting the man with a little leadership quality at the head of a small group, grading responsibility and place while lifting men and adapting them and their powers to various and ever-increasing positions of trust. As they develop they are called "to come up higher." Thus the germinal principle of the gospel, progression and growth, is applied to human evolution.

Brigham Young's journal at Winter Quarters records:

> "January 25th. I informed the people that in the government of this church, in business transactions, every man should have a voice in the matter as if the whole responsibility were on his shoulders. It belonged to the people to appoint captains of hundreds and fifties.

> "February 6th. I enjoined upon the Bishops that they gather the widow, the poor, and the fatherless together and remember them in the festivities of Israel.
>
> "The Silver Greys (veterans of the Revolutionary War and the Nauvoo Legion) met at the Council House on New Year's Day in Winter Quarters and it was lovely to see the old men and women, some nearly a hundred years old, go forth and dance together in fulfilment of the ancient prophets."

On February 3, memorial services were held by those who were in the Battle of Nauvoo and it was a solemn thanksgiving for delivery and life to those who survived. The regular April Conference was convened on April 6 by the Leader who failed not to keep the sacred torch alight upon the simple altar of Church and national observances whether in city, camp or in transit. Missionaries were called out at this Conference to go both to the Eastern centres and to Europe. What sublime faith and trust in God that call implied both by the men who accepted and the man who called!

On April 29, a feast was made for those missionaries and their leaders, some of whom were to go far away on missions, some to go west and others to remain in the almost deserted Winter Quarters and other frontier posts to bring up the subsequent emigration. Joy and merriment must be utilised to mitigate the solemn facts and sacrifice of marching Israel. The Leader blessed those who were to tarry, those going abroad and those who were going with him. He prophesied that the saints would never be driven from the Rocky Mountains.

In May, 1848, the great body of the people left Winter Quarters, the first company of 2,500 people, duly outfitted and properly organised, pulling out on May 9. Seventeen days later, Brigham Young, having remained behind to oversee the final removal of the last company, left with his counsellors, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards who with their large families were in this contingent. There were 802 wagons, with stock and supplies. Winter Quarters was practically deserted, the very last families leaving in July. A small force of men were left there to assist on-coming emigrants from Europe and the Eastern States.

Good order, said the Leader, must be preserved in camp as in the original company. There must be no shouting; prayers were to be attended to and lights put out at 9 o'clock. Drivers of teams should walk beside their own oxen and not leave teams or camp without permission.

The experiences of the march were much the same as those of the previous and subsequent journeys. It was a wonderful movement that brought 5,000 people, in one short period, including many women and children, practically without money or provisions, across 1,200 miles of desert and mountains to bivouac in the trackless wastes of the Rocky Mountains. The strict order of their march, their sentries around camp and corral, savoured of a well-organised army, which indeed they were—the Army of the Lord!

The food supply of that travelling multitude was most important. The estimate of flour rations for an adult was three-fourths of a pound daily and one-half of a pound for children. The milk was furnished by cows en route in each train, while an occasional egg came from the chicken pens in the rear of some wagons. Vegetables were scarce, although dried pumpkins, dried apples, and wild fruit along the way made a rare Sunday treat. Each pound of flour, of wild game killed along the route, sugar and fruit was rigidly apportioned.

Some companies suffered, it is true, because of sickness, delays by storms, or the careless and selfish management of leaders. This was rare, however. Most of them obeyed counsel; then they felt and were really blessed.

On September 20, 1848, the first companies arrived amid general rejoicing in the Valley. Before the expiration of the year there were nearly 3,000 newcomers, making over 5,000 of the saints assembled in the Valley in the fall and winter of 1848–49.

On the evening of Brigham Young's arrival, his daughters by his first wife, Elizabeth Young Ellsworth and Vilate Young Decker, with their husbands, who came the previous season, made a feast for him and sang a salutation, composed for the occasion by Eliza R. Snow; and on the Sabbath following a general welcome was extended by the whole community.

The Leader found many problems awaiting his directing hand. The people were anxious to move out of the fort, a few had already done so. He found 450 buildings; there were three saw mills and a flour mill already running with several others in course of construction. The people had celebrated a "harvest-home" on the 10th of August and everybody was well and happy. But there were many houses yet to build; boundaries to establish; school houses to erect and set in operation ere winter set in; fields to garner; stores to husband and portion out, as foodstuffs were and would be inadequate for some time to feed the present and oncoming multitudes; mills and factories with all other industries to establish and foster; civic affairs with a territorial governing machinery to set functioning; towns, cities, counties to found and to regulate.

Where the saints had lived, heretofore, one city and a few surrounding villages had encompassed their numbers. Now, valleys stretched out in this majestic untouched wilderness for uncounted miles, awaiting the tent of the settler, the trickle of his irrigation ditch, and the awakening touch of his plough. People, tens of thousands of them, were needed for this empire-building labour. And they were waiting, eagerly, most of them helpless, scattered all the way from Liverpool to the Ensign Peak, where fluttered the starry flag, that symbol of their liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own souls. The Land and the People, Earth and Life. These were the forces that must be organised and fused into one great communal organisation. Great problems they were which had to do with the building of a mighty inland empire.

With them all there arose in Brigham Young's heart the need to provide shelter and sustenance for the brave women and innocent children whom God had committed to his own care. It was task enough to daunt any but the strongest, but he did not flinch. "When we arrived in the Valley," he said in a sermon delivered at a later time, "we found a few naked Indians, a few wolves and rabbits, and any amount of crickets, but as for a green tree or a fruit tree, or any green fields, we found nothing of the kind, with the exception of a few cottonwoods and willows on the edge of the City Creek. We came here comparatively naked and barefoot; we made our provisions last until we raised more; we brought our wives and children in comparative nakedness and poverty as to this world's goods. My wives took skins and made moccasins to wear.

"Instead of crying over our sufferings, as some seem inclined to do, I would rather tell a good story and leave the crying to others. I do not know that I have ever suffered: I do not realise it. . . . As I said to the brethren the other night, the only suffering I ever realised in this Church was to preserve my temper toward my enemies. But I have even got pretty much over this. Do what they please, we will not be angry; it is not becoming in saints to be so. Let us do right, ourselves, and we will find honour."

President George A. Smith gives this truthful picture of those early days in the Valley: "For the next three years we were reduced to considerable straits for food. Fast meetings were held, and contributions constantly made for those who had no provisions. Every head of a family issued rations to those dependent upon him, for fear this supply of provisions should fall short. Rawhides, wolves, rabbits, thistle roots, sego roots, and everything that could be thought of that would preserve life were resorted to; there were a few deaths by eating poisonous roots. A great deal of the grain planted here the first year grew only a few inches high; it was so short it could not be cut, the people had to pull it." Heber C. Kimball, writing on these pioneer conditions records: "I have been under the necessity of rationing my family to two-thirds of a pound of breadstuff a day each. . . . Brother Brigham told me to-day that he had put his family on one half a pound each, for there is scarcely any grain in the country and there are thousands who have none at all, and money will not buy flour or meal.

"During all these trials President Young was firm and decided. He put on a smile while among the people and said this was the place God had pointed out as a gathering place of the saints, and it would be blessed and become one of the most productive places in the world. In this way he encouraged the people, and he was sustained by men who felt that God had inspired him to lead us there."

Although isolation was complete in the Valley during these early years, ecclesiastical authority might be invoked if man imposed upon man or injustice was practised, knowingly or unknowingly. There was no need for courts for there were no trials. No need for policemen, there were no law-breakers. But over the fort, on high days and holidays, floated the precious Stars and Stripes and the people were under its protection.

The semi-patriarchal form of government which is the foundation of the Mormon Church was sufficiently elastic to cover the needs of the pioneers in both civil and ecclesiastical matters. Brigham Young was a close student of civic as well as ecclesiastic policy and had been from his youth.

Men brought their human weaknesses with them into the Valley, women retained their faults. If either seriously offended the other, complaint could be entered in the Bishop's Court and these cases could be appealed to a higher council, known as the High Council, if either party were dissatisfied with the Bishop's decision.

There was, therefore, during the first year or two in the

MAIN STREET, THE PRINCIPAL BUSINESS THOROUGHFARE
OF SALT LAKE CITY

Valley, recourse only to the ecclesiastical courts, as occasion arose. There were no laws until 1848, though certain penalties were assigned for stealing, etc. The Bishop's Court or High Council tried all cases and sentenced the offenders.

Generally speaking, matters of civic welfare were brought before the whole congregation. Notices for men to go upon missions to colonise new country, to make new water ditches, to clean out the ditch or the dam, to haul logs or timber for the meeting-house or school-house—these and similar notices were part of every Sabbath meeting, and are even to-day; and were and are voted upon by the entire congregation.

In these meetings, too, came questions as to procedure in civic, educational and religious matters. All such matters, from the organisation of the Church until the present day, are voted upon by the raising of the right hand—by all members of the Church, men and women. Furthermore, women as well as men voted on civic matters side by side or by ballot. It is somewhat startling to the student of to-day to learn that so far back as 1830 these people, who are so generally supposed to be hide-bound, narrow and priest-ridden, not only gave equal religious suffrage to their women as to men, but wherever practicable, civic equality was the rule as well.

During those earliest years in the Valley the women continued the exercise of equality in all civic questions, such as land and water rights, canals, bridges and roadway questions. These matters were brought before the body of the people and voted upon by men and women alike. And why not? Women were home-making, while men were house-building and farm-planting, so that their interests were identical.

An amusing incident occurred in later years, illustrative of this ingrained doctrine of "common consent." In the early seventies, in a southern county of Utah a case of water rights between two men was tried before the District Judge who was also a Bishop in that ward. One of the parties to the suit had hired a young lawyer from Salt Lake City to plead his case. The old Judge-Bishop carefully and prayerfully announced his decision and then turning to those assembled added solemnly: "All you that are in favour of sustaining this decision, signify it by the raising of your right hand" (as was the practice in religious assemblies). As the hands flew up, and it was practically unanimous, the young lawyer fled from the room to release the flood of laughter which drowned his defeat in the rising gale of his own merriment.

# XII

## BRIGHAM YOUNG AND IRRIGATION

Mormon Leaders as Students—The Modern Genii of the Desert—Irrigation Not a Recent Discovery—The Great Accomplishment of the Pioneers —First Act of Irrigation Performed by the Anglo-Saxon Race— Irrigation Engineer—Forerunner of Dry-Farming—Irrigation as a Corner-Stone.

Leaders like Joseph Smith and Brigham Young do not enter recklessly and blindly into great commercial, economic or path-finding enterprises. They study carefully each angle of the problem, mapping out their plans and preparing for all eventualities. When the Lord says, "Do this," "go there," the Prophet considers well the human and physical resources with which to carry out the mandate. Else he would not be a Leader.

The Prophet had led the people from New York State to Ohio, from Ohio to Missouri, from Missouri to Illinois. His method, his plan of action was before the mind of Brigham Young. Yet Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, were all under a rainfall sufficient to produce crops; profusely wooded; and all were fairly well settled states. As the people moved westward they were about to enter an uncharted wilderness where camps were of Indian teepees and roads were the paths of antelope and buffalo. As the chosen leader after Joseph, Brigham Young adopted the same careful, far-seeing methods laid down by his beloved Prophet.

The pages of the *Nauvoo Guardian, Times and Seasons,* the daily official journal of Brigham Young, and subsequent events prove how carefully the Rocky Mountain wilderness was studied; how prayerfully and deliberately every source of information then and there available was investigated. It is absurd to think that Brigham Young would fare forth with twenty thousand people to place them a thousand miles from anywhere, without a well-defined policy for home-making and state-building. Subsequent events amply prove this. That the great Path-finder was seeking the vales of the Rocky Mountains as the Prophets of old, as well as the modern Prophet, had foretold, and that he had conceived the idea of developing an irrigation scheme before he left Winter Quarters, is plainly indicated in his daily journals. He said "Joseph has often said, 'If I were only in the Rocky Mountains with a hundred faithful men, I would ask no odds of mobocrats!' "

How Brigham Young first obtained the idea of irrigation we may not know. Irrigation as an age-old art in the older countries of Egypt and Babylonia, was common knowledge, also an account of Indian attempts at irrigation in California was given by Fremont. Upon a few sheets of manuscript, yellow with age, in the files of the historian of the Church, we read these following minutes: "February 26, 1847. Winter Quarters. I (Brigham Young) spent the afternoon and evening in council with Elders H. C. Kimball, O. Pratt, E. T. Benson, W. Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith, A. Lyman, N. K. Whitney, William Clayton and J. M. Grant. Conversation ensued relative to journey westward, the construction of boats, pioneers, travelling, location, seeds, *irrigation*, science, etc." In the minutes of a meeting held on the following day occurs this sentence: "We have to search for land that can be irrigated."

Erastus Snow, one of the two men first to enter the Salt Lake Valley, has recorded: "When Brigham Young was lying sick in his wagon he counselled us to bear to the north and we should find a nice stream of water and we were to throw up a dam, plough the ground and get in our potatoes and other seeds as soon as possible. I do not know how Brother Brigham knew that we should turn to the north and that we should find there a nice stream of water; but we did just as he told us, pitched our camp and threw a dam in the creek. That, so far as I know, is the first act of irrigation ever performed by the Anglo-Saxon race in America."

No one conversant with the history of the people at that time may doubt the fact that the leaders, at least, were aware of the fact that irrigation would be necessary, if settlement was to be made in the Rocky Mountain valleys.

The Mormon pioneers do not claim to have discovered irrigation, for it was practised by ancient peoples from the dawn of history. Indeed, most of the great civilisations of the past have flourished where it was necessary to provide for the artificial carriage of water to barren lands. The great accomplishment of the pioneers and their marvellous gift to modern history was the institution of a system of irrigation and the building of a permanent modern civilisation "under the ditch." Thus the Mormon people became the first to found a systematic science of irrigation in modern times.

It is the difficult earth which yields the richest, most health-giving treasures. Irrigation, the ancient practice of the dwellers by the Euphrates and Nile Rivers as well as in the valleys of North and South America, long forgotten and unknown to moderns, was to be the natural miracle which should cause "the desert to blossom as the rose." It was and still is the golden key which unlocks the agricultural doors of earth's great semi-arid spaces; it was and is a most stupendous natural force unloosed for man in this modern age. It redeems the great barren wastes that, without it, can harbour only the savage nomad and useless vegetation. It was Brigham Young, and his stalwart associates, who unlocked the limitless treasures of the barren wilderness. Not even he could glimpse, however, except through divinely vouchsafed vision, the millions of acres of western deserts converted into waving fields and prosperous cities through this simple applied engineering principle.

The Leader undoubtedly had this plan in his mind, an inspired one, to apply this hitherto undeveloped practice and to make of controlled water streams genii which should transform arid, forsaken and unwanted waste lands into a well-watered garden of the Lord. He had, like the wise man he was, kept this plan hidden in his own mind until the time came to put it into active operation. Nothing could so convince the doubters about him as well as those gloom-wranglers he had talked with on his way thither, as an actual demonstration. His plan conceived, it is safe to assume, in the Nauvoo Temple, nursed and prayed over on the westward journey, could not carry force and conviction until it had been tried out.

Stern necessity caused these new dwellers in the desert to practise this ancient life-giving art; and experience, said to be the best of teachers, taught them gradually the best methods to use. No formal education in this branch of engineering was possible, but experience, passed by word of mouth, and demonstrated results, caused them to learn its methods (often in the most costly manner) or perish. The people as a whole took hold of the problem and by patience and persistence learned the rules of this new game as is attested by their survival and the glorious fulfilment of their dreams.

This was not easy, for many of the men were not farmers by training; others had practised it where the natural rainfall was the only source of water for plant growth. But they learned the art well and speedily, and passed on their knowledge to their grateful descendants.

Some idea of the extent of the operations of those early days may be had by reference to the historian, Hubert Bancroft: "In 1865, 277 canals had already been constructed, at a cost, including dams, of $1,766,940, with a total length of 1,043 miles, irrigating 153,949 acres; and there were others in prog-

EAGLE GATE, SALT LAKE CITY

UTAH HOTEL, SALT LAKE CITY

ress at this date, the cost of which was estimated at $877,730. During each succeeding year thousands of acres, before considered worthless, were brought under cultivation; canals being built in all directions, the waters that had run to waste down the mountain sides and through the canyons were used to deposit on the farmlands rich particles of fertile soil. Two or three waterings a year would, in most localities, secure good crops, and the millions devoted to purposes of irrigation throughout the territory paid better interest, directly and indirectly, than capital invested in any other description of enterprise."

Many great unknown problems and difficulties were to be solved by these human agents. A new and most important officer in pioneer Utah was that of Watermaster, and he had to be wise, and judicial by nature, or be in trouble much of the time. We read of these days in Brigham Young's own words:

"I do not know that I have prayed for rain since I have been in these valleys until this year, during which I believe that I have prayed two or three times for rain, and then with a faint heart, for there is plenty of water flowing down these canyons in crystal streams as pure as the breezes of Zion, and it is our business to use them.

"There ought to be a reformation in the distribution of the water. The man who will not raise five dollars' worth of produce on his lot, has the same water privilege as the man who could raise a thousand dollars' worth. For instance, brother Staines gets the water for two hours in a week, and what are his fruit trees worth? He could make his thousand dollars a year from them, if he were disposed to sell the fruit instead of giving it away, could he have a fair portion of water. I have a lot just below him well cultivated in fruit trees, a nursery and choice vegetables. I also can only have the water on my lot for two hours in a week; when lots nearby with but little on them except weeds, get the same water privilege, and that too in the daytime, while we have to use it in the night.

Watermasters ought to look to this matter, until they have arranged a more just distribution."

That he looked into the future and foresaw the development of this great country is again attested by his very words. And some of his words sound like prophecies yet to be fulfilled: "The river Jordan will be brought out and made to flow through a substantial canal to Great Salt Lake City. When this is done, it will not only serve as a means of irrigating, but it will form a means of transportation from the south end of Utah Lake to Great Salt Lake City.

"As soon as that is completed from Big Cottonwood to this city, we expect to make a canal on the west side of Jordan, and take its water along the east base of the west mountains, as there is more farming land on the west side of that river than on the east. When that work is accomplished we shall continue our exertions until Provo river runs to this city. We intend to bring it around the point of the mountain to Little Cottonwood, from that to Big Cottonwood, and lead its waters upon all the land from Provo canyon to this city, for there is more water runs in that stream alone than would be needed for that purpose."

"Dry-farming," so-called, is the handmaid of irrigation in districts of low rainfall. It is the system of agriculture which makes use through proper tillage and storage in the soil of the water which falls as rain, even though ordinarily the rainfall would be too low to produce crops. By leaving the land fallow every other year, enough water may be stored in soil properly cultivated to produce a satisfactory crop.

The original pioneers did not practise this particular phase of desert agriculture, but it was not long until their successors stumbled on to its possibility.

That Brigham Young foretold the possibility of its practice is a certainty. Many men live to-day who can testify that they heard him sweep his prophetic arm over districts that could not be irrigated and declare: "The time will come when all this bench land will be producing crops and even fruit trees." Many sections of the state to-day attest the fulfilled prophecy of this inspired man; the agency being, in such cases, the practice of the art of dry-farming.

That irrigation was known to be a vital problem, is proven by the following statute which is part of the first charter drawn up when Salt Lake City was organised. Note that it is also the first section mentioned. On page 42 it states:

> Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of Great Salt Lake City, that all owners or occupiers of farming land within the limits of said city, are hereby required to make their proportion of good and sufficient water ditches for irrigation, and keep the same in repair, under the direction of the water master having jurisdiction.

The deflection of the little stream from City Creek on that memorable July 22, 1847, was as the "little stone carved out of the mountain without hands" which has grown in volume until to-day it fills the agricultural possibilities of the entire West. Twenty millions of acres are under cultivation in western America that would otherwise be unproductive; and as many more are now being brought under irrigation.

# XIII

## THE INDIANS

Policy towards the Red Man—The Indians a Branch of Israel—Rescue of the Indian Maiden, Sally—Becomes Cook in Brigham Young's Household—Her Tragic End—Selling of Indian Children to Mexican Traders Forbidden—Ute Indians Declare War on the Settlements—Massacre of Lieut. Gunnison and His Party—Daring Work of Mormon Indian Scouts—The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows—Historians Exonerate Mormons from Blame.

LONG before Brigham Young was officially appointed by the authorities at Washington as Indian Agent for the Territory of Utah, he had selected a number of able men to act as "Indian Interpreters" as they were termed. They were all courageous and resourceful men, and their mission was to seek out the various tribes, establish friendly intercourse with them, secure their confidence, adjust their grievances, aiming all the while to lift them to a higher state of civilisation.

"Feed the Indians, don't fight them," was Brigham Young's policy. He advocated this course not so much because it was the wisest and safest mode for the new settlers to adopt, but for a far deeper reason. These savage tribes were descended from a well-defined branch of Israel according to the Book of Mormon. The future of his own people was historically bound up in the destiny of the Indians—Lamanites, the Book of Mormon calls them—and that other branch of Israel, the Jews. Not only did he desire to be friendly with the Indians, but he was anxious to prepare them for receiving and understanding the Gospel of Christ.

The pioneers had hardly arrived in the Valley before they were made aware of the presence of Indians. They were in fact around all the settlements and the first few years were marked by repeated disturbances between the Red man and the White, with occasional loss of life on either side.

A story, told by Orson F. Whitney, Utah's historian, is of interest:

> "One of the first men to move out of the Fort was Lorenzo D. Young, who, ever on the look-out to better his own or his friends' condition, as early as October sold his house in the Fort, and having built a new log cabin on City Creek, north-east of the stockade, in December moved into it with his family. Their leaving the Fort was much against the wishes of their friends, who feared that they might be killed by Indians. 'I'll risk that, and no one but myself shall be responsible,' said Uncle Lorenzo, and off he went to his new home.
>
> "An incident occurred that winter which probably convinced him that the anxiety for his safety felt by his friends was not entirely groundless. It also illustrates the coolness and courage possessed by those early heroines, the pioneer women of Utah. It happened thus: Harriet Young was sitting with her infant child in their solitary home one day,—her husband and the rest of the family being absent,—when an Indian came to the door and asked for 'biscuit.' He was a fierce, ill-looking fellow, known throughout the region as 'a bad Indian.' Mrs. Young, going to her humble larder, gave the savage two of three small biscuits—all the bread that she had in the house. He took them and asked for more. She gave him the remaining one, but still he demanded more. More she did not have, and so informed him. Furious he advanced, and fitting an arrow to his bow, aimed it at her heart, fiercely repeating the request. Cool and collected the brave woman faced her swarthy foe, and for a moment thought that her last hour and that of her helpless babe had come. Not yet. At this moment an idea occurred to her. In the next room, securely fastened, was a large dog, a powerful mastiff, purchased by her husband on leaving the Fort, and kept upon the premises for just such emergencies as the danger now threatening. Making a sign to the savage, as of compliance with his request, she passed into the next room, and hastily untying the dog, exclaimed 'seize him.' Like lightning the mastiff darted through the doorway, and a shriek of terror, quickly followed by a howl of pain, as the sharp canine teeth met in the Redskin's thigh, told how well the faithful brute comprehended his mistress' peril, and the duty required of him in her defence. In all probability, the Indian, prostrate and pleading vociferously for his life, would never again have risen, had not our heroine, in whose generous heart pity for the vanquished wretch at once took the place of the just anger she had momentarily felt, after prudently relieving him of his

> bow and arrow, called off the dog and set the wounded savage at liberty. He was badly hurt, and cried bitterly. Mrs. Young magnanimously washed the wound, applied a large sticking plaster to the injured part, and sent him away a wiser if not a better Indian."

In the earliest days of the settlement a band of yelling savages came down to the fort in Salt Lake City. Wanship, their chief, who was at war with Little Wolf, had taken two Indian girls prisoners, had killed one and they were torturing the other. When the scouts hurried out to the Indian camp they found a poor girl whose head had been shingled with a butcher's knife and singed with firebands. All the fleshy part of her body, legs and arms, had been hacked with knives and she was being further tortured by thrusting firebrands into the wounds. The poor creature was covered with blood and ashes. One of the scouts, Charley Decker, brought her away on his pony and took her to his sister's home. Sally, as she was called, recovered and lived for years in Brigham Young's household where she learned to cook. And she was an excellent cook as the writer can testify. Her apple and custard pies, her fried cakes and molasses ginger bread were the acme of culinary delights for a decade or more in the Lion House.

Later she married the Indian Chief Kanosh, but her superior white ways so antagonised the second Mrs. Kanosh that she proceeded to finish the awful task of carving begun on Sally in her youth. Poor Sally's body was taken into a lonely gully and lightly covered as in a grave by the murderess. With his uncanny Indian sixth sense Kanosh tracked her and compelled the jealous wife to confess. This she did and then offered, in accordance with age-long Indian laws of justice, to starve herself to death. Her offer was accepted. Her hut, or wickiup of retribution, made of dry timber, was built on a distant hill and there the murderess took her solemn, lonely way, chanting her weird death lament in a low monotone. She took no water, no food, but kept her beacon-fire burning and her weird chant intoned till starvation overcame her. The night when the fire burned down, an Indian justice-runner loped up the hill-side, set fire to her wickiup, and her crime was atoned!

Not all tribes were friendly to the new settlers, nor were all white men fair to the Indians. It was difficult for a Red man to distinguish between a white Mormon and a white non-Mormon. If his squaw was abused and seduced, as they often were by passing emigrants and Mexicans; if his son was shot or missing, he went on the warpath, regardless of the religious affiliations of his white enemies.

Among the earliest causes that led to disturbance between the Indians and the settlers was the presence of Mexican trading parties who in return for horses and firearms bought Indian women and children to sell them into slavery across the border. This had become a custom among the Indians and it was encouraged by the Mexicans. The selling of children to the Mexicans met with stern rebuke from Brigham Young. He hated slavery in any form; and in 1852, after he was appointed Governor, caused an act to be passed by the Utah Legislature legalising the enforced apprenticeship of Indian children. This act permitted families to take over the Indian children from Indian parents who were determined to sell them to the Mexicans. A year later, in 1853, because of the abuse of this act, a proclamation was issued, ordering the arrest of all strolling parties of Mexicans.

This incensed the Mexican traders and they in revenge stirred up the Indian tribes in the mountains, who at first had been friendly with the settlers. Grain was stolen from the fields, horses and cattle were taken from the herds, and an occasional arrow from an Indian bow would fall perilously near a farmer while seeing to his crops. Then the Indians went on the warpath and the settlers were obliged to arm themselves although Brigham Young's standing order was "shed no blood." There was skirmish after skirmish followed by a patched-up peace, only to break out anew in a different place, Such disturbances marked the first few years of settlement in the Valley.

In the summer of 1853, however, Walkara (called Walker by the whites) the restless and quarrelsome Chief of the Ute Indians, openly declared war on the settlements. A licence had been made out to a Mexican trader, Pedro Leon, signed by the Governor of New Mexico, authorising him to trade with the Ute Indians without reference to locality. Brigham Young's objections were sternly set forth as follows: "We have no objections to Spaniard, Mexican, or any other nationality coming into our midst, buying tea, coffee, sugar or molasses, or buying, selling or swapping horses, mules or any other animals or property which will tend to the public good; but we feel justified to raise a warning voice to all men who are citizens of this country, and especially of Utah Territory, to beware how they furnish arms and ammunition to any tribe of Indians whatsoever, and especially to any tribe at war with the United States. We further counsel that any person whatsoever who may be guilty of 'trafficking' in human blood, or selling Indians or Indian children to be transported from the Territory, or from one part of the Territory to another, shall be reported at once to the civil authorities for action."

This order had the effect of intensifying the ill feelings between Mexicans, their Indian allies and the settlers. Men were obliged to abandon saw and grist mills and even their fields, and gather into forts to protect themselves from the marauding and ravaging Indian tribes. It was during this excitement that an unwise act on the part of a band of Californian emigrants led to the tragic death of the distinguished government engineer, Lieutenant John W. Gunnison. The Parvian Indians in the Sevier Valley had been bitterly aroused by the killing of one of their band and the wounding of two others by a passing party of emigrants. The Indians at once set out to avenge the dead, as usual, on the first white men they came across. Unfortunately, Lieutenant Gunnison and his party of surveyors happened to be encamped in the Sevier Valley at the time. Gunnison was one of the first to fall. He was pierced by fifteen arrows; and seven other men of his party were also slain. A battle ensued and many Indians were killed. When the rest of the surveying party, in charge of Captain R. M. Morris, reached the scene they found only four of Gunnison's company alive.

Bancroft, the historian, commenting on this bloody affair, says: "By many the Gunnison massacre had been and is still ascribed to the agency of the Mormons; and it has even been asserted that Mormons, disguised as Indians, were among those who committed the deed. . . . Not only is there no valid proof against them, but there are many circumstances pointing to the opposite direction, one of them being that among the slain was a Mormon guide. The Gunnison massacre was brought about by Gentiles. It was the direct result of the killing of the Indians by Californian emigrants." The respect of the people for the memory of Lieutenant Gunnison is shown by the fact that one of the prosperous cities of the Sevier Valley is named after him.

In his capacity as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Brigham Young found it necessary to investigate this regrettable affair. Accordingly he undertook a journey, carrying with him several wagon-loads of presents for the Indians under their chief, Walker. They met in council and Brigham Young passed them a large bag of tobacco. He did not smoke it himself, but his offer and his refusal to partake was understood by Walker and his braves. He found the Indians quite anxious to "bury the hatchet" and Walker claimed that he was not responsible for the late troubles and attributed them to the fierce tempers of some of his young warriors who had fled the country. A little later he had another friendly powwow with Walker and his braves when a treaty was drawn up which was effective for a number of years. Thus ended the Indian War of 1850–53, which cost the lives of twenty Mormons and other white men and twice as many Indians, as well as causing a loss of over $300,000 to the people of the Territory for which no reimbursement by the government was made.

Shortly after this massacre Brigham Young was travelling with a train of thirty carriages, visiting the settlements, when he learned that Walker and his braves were again in a sullen mood. They ran right into the Indians' temporary camp. Some of the brethren were in favour of retreat. But Brigham drove his own buggy directly into the centre of the nearby Indian encampment. Walker was there with a very sick papoose (child) which had been given up to die by the tribal medicine man. Walker demanded a white man's life to accompany his dying child on the journey to the spirit land. Argument was of no avail. Finally Brigham Young asked to see the child. Laying his hands upon the head of the little sufferer, the white Chief rebuked death and disease and the child was instantly healed. This miraculous healing strengthened the bond betweeen the two chieftains.

Walker died on January 29, 1858, of a "cold" which had settled on his lungs. He passed away with a good spirit, and spoke affectionately of Brigham Young. The Utes killed two squaws, two Piute children and about fifteen of his best horses, on the occasion, to accompany his spirit to the great Beyond! He was buried with all his presents and trinkets, and a letter which he had received the previous day from Brigham Young.

The Indian scouts and those set aside to toil among and uplift the Red man were not only capable men, but absolutely fearless, yet competent to deal with any delicate situation that might arise. The written accounts these gallant pioneers have left of their experiences are more thrilling than any pages of fiction and more romantic than any screened adventure. Jacob Hamblin, who was called on a mission to the Indians in April, 1854, located in Harmony, Iron County, leaving his family there while he took up the trail into Southern Utah, and into all the territory south and west of that section, writes:

> "Late in the autumn of 1857 a company came along on their way to California. They brought a letter from President Brigham Young, directing me to see them and their effects safely through to California. They were mostly merchants who had been doing business in Salt Lake City. When the company arrived in Cedar City, they sent a messenger ahead of them with the letter to me. I directed him to return to the company and tell them to come on and I would be with them in time. When I reached the California road, the company had passed, and was some distance ahead of me.
>
> "While hurrying to overtake it, I found a man who had been travelling alone, also in pursuit of the company, with a view of getting through with it to California. He was in the hands of the Indians and stripped of his clothing. They were on the point of taking him to their camp to torture him, to have, as they expressed it, a good time with him.
>
> "Seeing I had some influence with the Indians the stranger begged me to save his life. I told the Indians to bring back his clothing, which they did, except his shoes, and I took him along with me to the company.
>
> "I found a few Indians around them, and there appeared to be some excitement. One of the merchants asked me if I could save the ship. I replied I could see nothing to hinder me, to which he replied: 'You can take the helm, but do not run too near the rocks or shoals, we have plenty of presents for the Indians.'
>
> "He wished to know what they should do with their animals. I told him I knew where there was good grass, and I would send two Indians to take care of them. At first they refused to let the animals go, but after some consultation decided to let me have my own way. The animals were sent out to feed in charge of two Indians and were safely brought back to camp next morning.
>
> "When we had travelled about sixty miles toward Muddy Creek, a Mospat Indian told me that the Indians on the stream were preparing to attack the company. I started at dawn the following morning and arrived at the crossing of the Muddy about two hours in advance of the company. The Indians had collected in the vicinity of the crossing, with a view of attacking the company when it passed. They believed they could easily kill the men and obtain a large amount of spoil.
>
> "I called them together and sat down and smoked a little tobacco with them, which I had brought along for that purpose. I then said: 'You have listened to my talk in times past; you believe that it is good to hear and do what I say,' and they all answered, 'Yes.'
>
> "I then told them I was going through to California with some friends, Americans and merchants; and that we had brought along many blankets,

> shirts and other useful articles. I hoped they would see that none of the animals were stolen, and if any strayed, they would bring them into camp. Some of the Indians did not readily consent to let the company pass in peace.
>
> "For further security I sent for their women and children to come out of their hiding place, where they had been sent for safety, as is the custom of the Indians when preparing for battle.
>
> "I had matters in a much better shape on the arrival of the company than I found them. I was careful to listen to all the talk of the Indians and spent the evening and also the night with the largest number of them, so that they could not make any general move without my knowledge.
>
> "We continued our journey across the fifty-six miles of desert to Las Vegas Springs. There we met Brothers Ira Hatch and Dudley Leavitt, on their return from a mission to the Mohave Indians. They had had a narrow escape from the Mohaves. When they arrived amongst them the Indians took their horses and then held a council, the result of which was that the chief called a vote of his people as to whether the brethren should be killed or not, and it was decided that they should die.
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> "Brother Hatch, through the interpreter, a Piute friend, asked the Mohave Chief, Chanawanse, to let him pray before he was killed, and the request being granted he knelt down among the blood-thirsty savages and asked the Lord to soften their hearts. The prayer was repeated in measured sentences by the interpreter.
>
> "It had the desired effect. The chief took the brethren to his lodge and hid them there until early morning when he told them to go as fast as they could to Las Vegas, eighty miles distant.
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> "They travelled this distance on foot, and with but little food, living on mesquite bread made from a pod resembling a bean which grows on the mesquite bush. At Las Vegas I learned that the Indians there expected that the company would have been massacred at the Muddy Creek."

The most revolting Indian tragedy was that enacted in the autumn of 1857 while Brigham Young and his people were being threatened by an army which had been sent by the government at Washington to quell what they termed "the Mormon rebellion." It happened, too, while Indian depredations were at their height and men and women were looking aside everywhere in fear and doubt as to what the future held for them.

A train of boisterous Missouri and Arkansas emigrants were passing through the territory on their way to California.

Their character may be surmised from the name they gave themselves: "The Missouri Wildcats." The company consisted of about thirty families numbering one hundred and thirty-seven souls. On entering the territory they were advised by one of the leaders of the Church to take the northern route because of the unrest amongst the Indians of the southern section. Had they done so all would have been well. Instead they followed the southern route, and the rougher elements of the party abused the people of the settlements by tearing down fences, destroying property and insulting women. When they left a section they would poison the drinking places and some Indian animals were thus lost, which roused the Indians to fury. Meanwhile nothing was being done to prevent the emigrants proceeding on their journey. In fact, efforts were being made to pacify the Indians and prevent them from making an attack.

Early in September the company camped in a little valley, known as Mountain Meadows, some three hundred miles south and west of Salt Lake City. There they contemplated remaining for several days. In the meantime their conduct had aroused the Indians who now surrounded their camp in hostile attitude. As near as can be ascertained, on the morning of September 7, at the break of day, the attack upon the emigrants began. At the first volley, seven men were killed and sixteen were wounded. The victims were taken by surprise, but being well armed, fought bravely for their lives and were successful in repelling the attack. Several Indians were killed including two of their chiefs.

The Indians then sent runners throughout the surrounding country calling for reinforcements from among their tribes, and for a member of the Mormon Church who had been in close touch with Indian affairs as their "farmer," to come and lead them to victory. He hurried to the scene from his home in Harmony, and learning the stories told, seemed to partake of the frenzy of the Redskins. Later, other white men appeared upon the scene, having been lured to the meadows, with the request that their services were needed in burying the dead. Some of them remained, willingly or by coercion, to participate in the massacre which followed.

Meanwhile a runner was despatched by the alarmed settlers to Salt Lake City to inform Brigham Young of the impending danger. His instructions to this messenger was that he was to "go with all speed, spare no horse flesh. The emigrants must not be meddled with, if it takes all Iron County to prevent it. They must go free and unmolested." Unfortunately, the messenger arrived too late.

During the lull following the first attack, the emigrants formed their wagons in a ring and threw up breastworks for their protection, awaiting the onslaught which they knew was sure to come. Some time was spent by the Indians, and their white allies, discussing the fate of the unfortunate emigrants. The victims discovered that white men were in league with the Indians, and this knowledge sealed their fate. It was determined by those making the attack that no emigrant should live who could tell the tale.

On the morning of September 11, the emigrants were induced to surrender under promise of protection and conveyance to a place of safety. They were led to a place where the Indians were in ambush, and at a given signal a volley of shots rang out, both Indians and white men participating in the outrage. Seventeen children of tender years—ranging in age from a few months to several years—were all that were spared. These children were cared for by the settlers until the government by act of Congress returned them to their friends in Arkansas.

The white men who engaged in this horrible tragedy entered into a league, by a strong and binding oath, that they would never reveal the part they played in this gruesome occurrence. A false report was forwarded to Brigham Young. The white Indian farmer also reported in person, laying the blame solely upon the Indians. Brigham Young was horrified and wept bitterly at the recital of the tale. He and the Church were entirely blameless in the matter.

Bancroft, in his history of Utah, says, referring to this terrible episode:

> "It may as well be understood at the outset that this horrible crime so often and so persistently charged upon the Mormon Church and its leaders, was the crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst type, one who was a member of the Mormon Church, but of whose intentions the Church knew nothing, and whose bloody act, the members of the Church, high and low, regard with as much abhorrence as any out of the Church. Indeed, the blow fell upon the brotherhood with threefold force and damage. There was the cruelty of it which wrung their hearts; and there was the strength it lent their enemies further to malign and molest them. The Mormons denounce the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and every act connected therewith, as earnestly and honestly as any in the outside world. This is abundantly proved and may be accepted as an historical fact."

Gradually the truth leaked out. The Church and its leaders were cleared of any suspected participation therein and a final execution of the party held most guilty satisfied the demands of justice.

# XIV

## OTHER CHURCHES AND NON-MORMONS

The Gospel and the Brotherhood of Man—Theory *v.* Practice—Taught Tolerance to Strangers—Sympathetic towards Other Religions—Belief in Universal Salvation—Inter-Racial Marriages Discouraged—Hatred of Hypocrisy—Welcomes Catholic Missionaries—Gives Plot for their Church—Help for the Jews—Ministers in Mormon Pulpits—Testimony of Sir Richard Burton and Others.

WITH a conception of truth as endless as time and as broad as eternity Brigham Young could not be narrow in his spirit to men of any religion, or even to those of no church affiliation. He could and did resent that pinched theology which maintained that no man could be saved unless he accepted certain dogmas, especially when that attitude was reinforced by intolerance and open or subtle warfare upon all other beliefs and creeds.

He believed, as did all his associates, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ embraces the life and destiny of every human soul that ever tabernacled in the flesh: the savage of lowest degree and the ascetic pagan of highest intellectual attainment are equally the children of our Father in heaven who will and who does watch over their physical and mental evolution with fondest care and patience. He knew that they possess by God-given right their free agency and may progress as rapidly or as slowly as they *will* to do so. But the spirit of intolerance and hatred of differing religious conceptions proved to him the falsity of the belief and the innate savagery of the man whose inhibitions were ossified into such narrow confines. Such a hypocrite he despised.

Brigham Young was always known as a "good sport," to use a boyish plaudit. He was quite willing to let "the best man win." If the religion of any man, if his business or pleasure could not bear healthy and reasonable competitive examination, then it lacked truth and justice.

He believed in universal salvation. Not for one group or one sect, but for all men and women, every time, everywhere save and except the sons of perdition. He looked upon the Gospel of Christ as being as broad as eternity, and loved to dwell upon that glorious fact.

The liberality and over-arching breadth of the Church was often emphasised by him and he sought to enlarge the views of the individual so that his whole concept might broaden and develop. Said he:

> "The Gospel does not bind a good man down, and deprive him of his rights and privileges; it does not deprive him of enjoying the fruits of his labours; it does not rob him of blessings; but is calculated to enlarge his kingdom as well as to enlarge his heart; it is calculated to give to him privileges and power, and honour, and exaltation, and everything which heart can desire in righteousness all the days of his life. And then, when he gets exalted in the eternal worlds, he can still turn around and say: 'It hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive the glory, and honour, and blessings, which God hath in store for those who love and serve Him.' "

Nothing short of this broad-minded view of life here and hereafter could qualify any man to stand as a representative of Jesus Christ upon this earth. Yet he differentiated sharply 'twixt sin and sinner, virtue and vice, between races and peoples. Separation, individually and nationally between men of different races and religions would solve many problems to-day as yesterday.

In one of his sermons shortly after entering the Valley he said: "Treat the passing stranger with kindness and respect." Again, "In our intercourse with outsiders do not call them 'Gentiles' . . . Let our example be such as is worthy of imitation. Then everyone who is honest among them will say, 'I guess you are right. I think I will come and stay with you.' "

Brigham Young was ever gentle and tolerant, nay, sympathetic to sincere religious people. He hated only hypocrites and law-breakers—wolves in sheep's clothing. He maintained there was room for every Church and all good people, in America and in Utah; if and when all were busy, going about their own affairs, and leaving other people alone. "Mind your own business," was the motto he advised every man to inscribe over the lintels of his doorway. "Attack no man's religion or his business. Show him better ways, greater light, but do not interfere with his affairs." These were his precepts.

With belief in the eternity of life, and the brotherhood of man, he welcomed, temperately but generously, the establishment of other Churches and the settlement of non-Mormons in the vales of Utah; he was always glad to meet and welcome individuals or groups who came Zionward. He was too shrewd to undervalue the cultural and financial advantages of other minds and other institutions. So he greeted friend and foe alike, was courteous to all; and as he said once, accepted in his youth every man he met as an honest man, but age had taught him to distrust every stranger until he had proved his mettle.

He taught his own family, as he advised all elders and mature members, to visit and study the creeds and formulas of other Churches; for he felt the restored Gospel of Jesus Christ would bear the most rigid comparison with all other forms and half-truths.

His first opportunity to prove the sincerity of his tolerance of those not of his faith came when he discovered that, like Moses of old, he had some non-believers mixed with the camps of Israel. Indeed, in the very first pioneer scouting party there were men who were not members of the Church. But he never discriminated against them. They were fed, warmed, cared for exactly the same as were the others. He said: "If

THE TEMPLE BLOCK, SALT LAKE CITY

any want to stay, let them do it in peace; and should any want to go with us who are not members of the Church, bid them welcome; for I look upon every man that is a true American as bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh."

There were a few men and women entering the Valley during that first year who were not members of the Church. All of these, when they were honourable and upright in their dealings, met with unbounded respect.

He welcomed the missionaries of the Catholic Church in the 'sixties, presenting Father Kelly and Father Walsh with $500 and a plot of land on which to build a Church in 1871.

He gave the early Jewish Congregation the use of the meeting house in which to hold service until their synagogue was built; and then together with a sum of money presented them with a plot of ground, which is now used for their cemetery. He was glad to attend the christening of one of the first Jewish babies born in Utah, a little son of Solomon Siegel, a pioneer merchant and state builder. He always took great interest in the unfolding of the Jewish destiny, for the prophecies, he knew, concerning modern Israel were so closely linked with the prophecies concerning the rehabilitation of Jerusalem, that they fell or stood together. Indeed, he sent out an expedition in 1870 to Jerusalem to rededicate that land for the return of the Jews. President George A. Smith headed that expedition and Apostle Lorenzo Snow with "Presidentess" Eliza R. Snow were members of that party.

He was equally liberal to all sects and welcomed all who sought him out. He greeted Bishop Tuttle, the Episcopal missionary, in the same cordial way he had met the others, presenting him with both land and money to build his church. There was room for all here and hereafter.

He invited ministers to occupy "Mormon" pulpits and advised the people to visit other churches and to measure all men and creeds by the rod of Truth and Revelation. His advice to Elders was: "Don't try to tear down other people's religion about their ears, but build up your own perfect structure of truth and invite your listeners to enter in and to enjoy its glories."

His plea for tolerance is evidenced in the following extracts from his sermons and discourses:

> "Some who call themselves Christians are very tenacious with regard to the Universalians, yet the latter possess many excellent ideas and good truths. Have the Catholics? Yes, a great many have excellent truths. Have the Protestants? Yes, from first to last. Has the infidel? Yes, he has a good deal of truth; and truth is all over the earth. The earth could not stand but for the light of truth it contains. The people could not abide were it not that truth holds them. It is the fountain of truth that feeds, clothes, and gives light and intelligence to the inhabitants of the earth, no matter whether they are saints or sinners."

Again:

> "Come, my brother Presbyterian; come, my brother professors of every persuasion of long standing and popular distinction in the world, who are dubbed with the word 'Orthodox,' come, we are all good Christians; I find no fault with you—why should you find fault with me? But you reply, 'I cannot be a Latter-day Saint, consequently we must be separated, and we cannot be brethren any longer.'
>
> "Come, my good brother Methodist, and my good brother Baptist, you are free and open in your view and feelings, for you hold forth a free salvation. This is a favourite doctrine of the Methodists. They say salvation is handed out to all the human family, without money and without price, and invite them to come, and partake of the waters freely. I declare the same. I am a believer in Jesus Christ, in God the Father and in the doctrines of salvation as they are taught in the Old and New Testaments. Yet the same principles of life and salvation are set forth in both of these books, and I believe them.
>
> "You say you belong to the Presbyterians; it is no matter if you have got the truth. Are you a Calvinist, or a Wesleyan? It is no matter if you have got the truth! that truth is also mine. Do you belong to the Methodist's society? And have you got the truth? If it is right that truth is 'Mormonism,' it is my property. Are you a Quaker? It is no matter if you have the truth, that same truth is mine. Are you a Catholic, and have you got the truth? That is my doctrine, and I will not quarrel about it.
>
> " 'Well,' says one, 'I am a Jew; I guess I can get up a quarrel with you.' No, you cannot. I shall not contend with you, for the Jews have got

> true principles, and they possess no truth but what belongs to 'Mormonism'; for there is not a truth on earth or in heaven, that is not embraced in 'Mormonism.'
>
> "Another steps forward and says, 'I am a Pagan; I think you will not agree with me.' Yes, I will, as far as you follow the path of truth; and when you have got to the end of that, I will give you more truth; but if you reject it, it is your own business, and not mine."

Brigham Young lived and wrought by the principle: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." If he found men generous, genuine, free from guile and corruption, he met them on the same ground. If he proved a man coarse, unrefined, bitter in spirit even when the outside was smooth and oily, he was wont to puncture such a balloon, and sometimes with no gentle hand. Like other Puritan-bred preachers, he was apt to withhold his denunciations till he was in the pulpit, and as his associates were themselves of the same upstanding breed, they were quite glad to have the community verbally warned and the foolish ones checked from associations with dangerous outside characters. What other protection has society against the unclean and the vicious?

Yet while he welcomed all classes of law-abiding citizens into the civil associations of the community, he understood law and the Gospel too well to think that oil and water could blend any better in the nineteenth century than it did in the first A.D. or B.C. The cleavage of race and of religions was too sharp for any successful amalgamation in the home life of any people. Blends of race and religion, if people are separated by colour or emotional reactions bred by differing religious views, do not succeed in business relations nor family life. No inter-racial marriages, therefore, or social mixtures met with his approval. He was fully converted to St. Paul's rigid interpretation of the law which governs inter-religious marriages: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" Yet all were basically equal before God, and human rights must be upheld.

Believing thus, he protected with all his power the social contacts of his people. Americans? Yes. Christians? Yes. Pagans? Yes. But let each keep his own laws and his own religious forms, unless and until converted to the true Gospel of Christ. In it all, however, he knew that human nature was the same yesterday as to-day. When he was importuned to build a wall around the city to keep the girls away from the flocking soldiers and miners en route to California, and to keep the men out, he replied to Oliver B. Huntington: "You can't build a wall high enough to keep a man out that wants to come in, or a girl in that wants to get out. But the day will come when the girls who run away will all come back; if not here, in the hereafter."

The mature of his people were safe in occasional contacts; but this great psychologist realised that the immature, the youth, should be guarded from unwise exposures to half-truths and so-called liberal attitudes which lead directly away from the "straight and narrow path."

While he possessed an open mind he was keen to detect the difference between honest inquiry and useless argument. He deprecated even innocent debate over debatable points of theology, science, education or life processes, and he despised that crude approach to truth which defies doubt. Discussion, which was candid exchange of opinions and reasonings, he welcomed. He was exceedingly liberal towards several leading men who held unorthodox views on such principles as the resurrection, the method and time of man's first appearance upon the earth, and other vital truths. But two things he would not, or could not allow: the promulgation of debatable doctrine publicly, nor any quibbling over the fundamental principles revealed by Jesus Christ in ancient days or to the Prophet Joseph Smith in our day. Brigham Young himself never advanced a new truth, or new doctrine, but he certainly developed to an amazing degree all those principles, doctrines and organisations given of God through the Prophet.

We have many reliable witnesses to the liberality and courtesy of Brigham Young and the people generally to visiting strangers and officials. Amongst them may be noted Sir Richard Burton, the famous explorer, who came here in 1860 and whose book contains the following comments:

> "Shortly after arriving, I had mentioned to Governor Alfred Cumming my desire to call on Mr. or rather, as his official title is, President Brigham Young.
>
> "About noon, I met Governor Cumming in Main Street, and we proceeded together to our visit. At a few words of introduction Mr. Brigham Young advanced, shook hands with complete simplicity of manner, asked me to be seated on a sofa at one side of the room, and presented me to those present.
>
> "Under ordinary circumstances it would be unfair in a visitor to draw the portrait of one visited. But this is no common case. I have violated no rites of hospitality. Mr. Brigham Young is a 'seer, revelator, and prophet, having all the gifts of God which he bestows upon the Head of the Church;' his memoirs, lithographs, photographs and portraits have been published again and again; I add but one more likeness; and, finally, I have nothing to say except in his favour.
>
> "The first impression left upon my mind by this short séance, and it was subsequently confirmed, was, that the Prophet is no common man, and that he has none of the weakness and vanity which characterise the common uncommon man. A desultory conversation cannot be expected to draw out a master of spirit, but a truly distinguished character exercises most often an instinctive—some would call it a mesmeric—effect upon those who come in contact with it; and as we hate or despise at first sight, and love or like at first sight, so nature teaches us at first sight what to respect. Finally, there is a total absence of pretension in his manner, and he has been so long used to power that he cares nothing for its display. The arts by which he rules the heterogeneous mass of conflicting elements are indomitable will, profound secrecy, and uncommon astuteness.
>
> "The Prophet received us in his private office, where he transacts the greater part of his business, corrects his sermons, and conducts his correspondence. It is a plain, neat room, with the usual conveniences, a large writing-desk and money-safe, table, sofas, and chairs, all made by the able mechanics of the settlement. There was a look of order, which suited the character of the man: it is said that a door badly hinged, or a curtain hung awry, 'puts his eye out.' His style of doing business at the desk or in the field—for the Prophet does not disdain handiwork—is to issue distinct, copious, and intelligible directions to his employees, after which he dislikes referring to the subject. It is typical of his mode of acting, slow, deliberate, and conclusive.

> "The conversation, which lasted about an hour, ended by the Prophet asking me the line of my last African exploration, and whether it was the same country traversed by Dr. Livingstone. I replied that it was about ten degrees north of the Zambesi. Mr. A. Carrington rose to point out the place upon a map which hung against the wall, and placed his finger too near the equator, when Mr. Brigham Young said, 'A little lower down.' There are many educated men in England who could not have corrected the mistake so well."

Here may be added Colonel Kane's testimony of the Mormons as a people. He said, after the delivery of his famous discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

> "I have been annoyed by comments this hastily written discourse has elicited; well-meaning friends have even invited me to tone down its remarks in favour of the Mormons, for the purpose of securing them a readier acceptance.
>
> "I can only make them more express, the truth must take care of itself. I not only meant to deny that the Mormons, in any wise, fall below our standard of morals, but I would be distinctly understood to ascribe to those of their number with whom I associated in the West, a general correctness of deportment and purity of character above the average of ordinary communities.
>
> "It is observed to me, with a vile meaning, that I have said little about the Mormon women. I have scarcely alluded to them, because my memories of them are such that I cannot think of their character as a theme of discussion. In one word, it was eminently that for which Americans dignify the names of mother, wife, and sister. Of the self-denying generosity, which went to ennoble the whole people in my eyes, I witnessed among them the highest illustrations; I have seen the ideal charity of the statue gallery surpassed by the young Mormon mother, who shared with the stranger's orphan the breast milk of her own child."

"All Brigham Young seemed anxious about," declared Sir Richard Burton, "was the saints being prepared for every event in the providence of the Lord." He met men and women of all sects, of all races on their own plane. He was too wise, too inspired, to throw down social and domestic bars. He knew what scientists have learned from experiments, that religious blends are as fatal to perpetuity as are racial blends. "Like unto like." Yet each must be left unmolested to work out individual destiny.

# XV

## GOVERNMENT AND LOYALTY

Respect for Constitution—Provisional Government—National Survey—Capt. Stansbury and Lieut. Gunnison Attest Mormon Loyalty and Fair Dealing—Trail of Gold-Seekers—Temperance Enforced—National Recognition—Brigham Young Appointed Governor—Unworthy Officials—Justice Brocchus Insults the People—Attempt to Remove Governor Young—Re-appointed as Utah's Governor—Unquestioned Loyalty.

THE people of this Church have always been loyal and patriotic. They consider the Constitution of the United States as a divinely inspired document, possessing certain weaknesses because devised by mortal man, yet approaching the ideal of perfection in the protection and opportunity offered to human aspiration and need. Brigham Young himself was a true patriot, as his words and actions proved. He said at various times:

> "The signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution were inspired from on High to do that work. But was that which was given to them perfect, not admitting of any addition whatever? No; for if men know anything they must know that the Almighty has never yet found a single man in mortality, that was capable at the first intimation, at the first impulse, to receive anything in a state of entire perfection. They laid the foundation and it was for after generations to rear the superstructure upon it. It is a progressive—a gradual work."

He further says:

> "Individual self-government lies at the root of all true and effective government, whether in heaven or on earth. Those who govern should be wiser and better than the government, that the lesser may be blessed of the greater. Were this so, then the people would willingly repose their

> dearest interests to the trusts of their rulers or leaders, and with a feeling of pleasure bow to and carry out to the letter their instructions and conclusions on all matters that pertained to the general good. This will apply to great kingdoms and mighty nations, to small companies of immigrants crossing the plains or to the home circle. A republican government in the hands of a wicked people must terminate in woe to that people, but in the hands of the righteous it is everlasting, while its power reaches to heaven.
>
> "We will cling to the Constitution of our country, and to the government that reveres that sacred charter of freemen's rights; and, if necessary, pour out our best blood for the defence of every good and righteous principle."

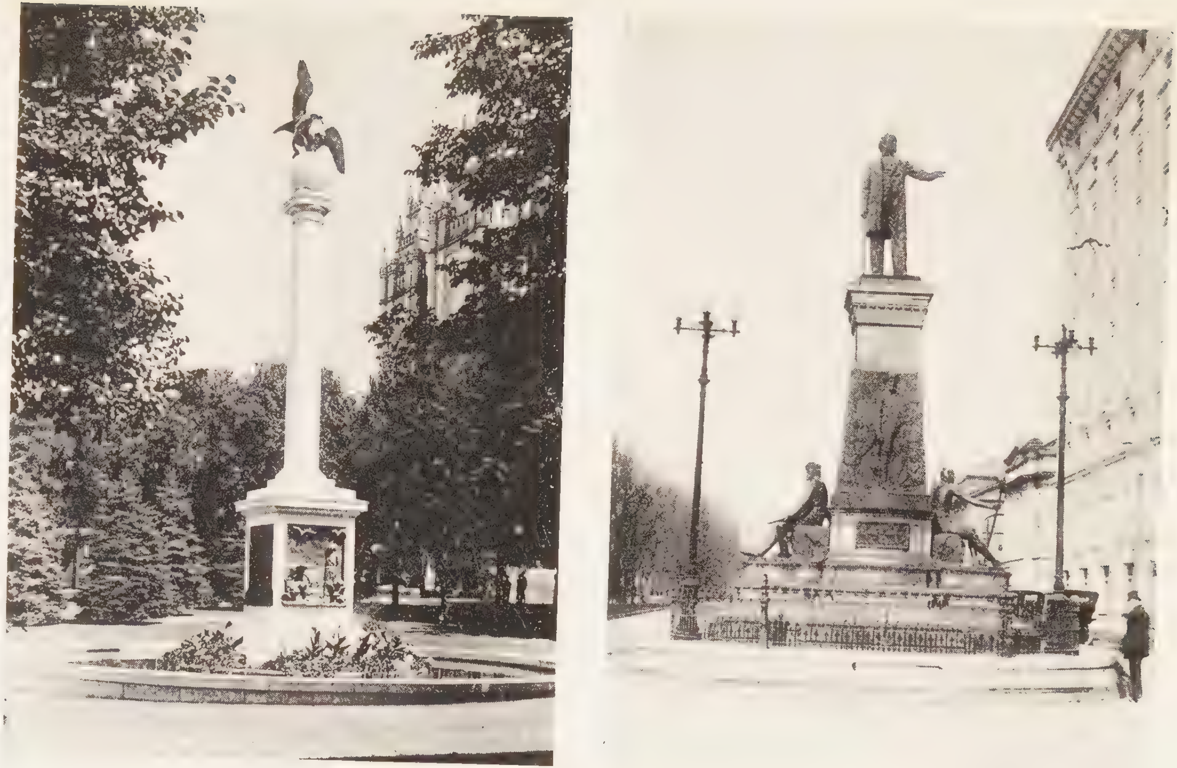
On one occasion he said in a public address:

> "We mean to sustain the Constitution of the United States and all righteous law. . . . I will say if there is one portion of the people belonging to the Government of the United States who love, revere, and hold sacred the Constitution of the Government more than any other portion it is the Latter Day Saints. They understand the true worth of the institutions of their country and will constantly uphold them. . . . We shall hold to and sustain this Government and rally under the Stars and Stripes when the inhabitants of the land will violate, dishonour and forsake them. Some may think that this is a wild saying and that I venture a great deal in making it; but I invite the clerks to write it, and I wish my stranger friends to enter it in a safe place where they can read it in the future."

With such a feeling of reverence for the national Government, it is not to be wondered at that the people generally should have an intense respect for the administration of "justice for all."

During the first two years the people were governed entirely by ecclesiastical authorities, for they were practically all Church members. But with the discovery of gold in California and the constant influx of strangers with occasional need of judicial adjudication of difficulties, it became apparent that there was need of civil administration of justice as well as civil machinery which would permit the expansion and development of a rapidly growing commonwealth.

As early as the fall of 1847, a few civil officers had been ap-



(LEFT) The Sea gull monument in the Temple Grounds, Salt Lake City. (RIGHT) The pioneer monument capped by a life-size figure in bronze of Brigham Young.

pointed, judges, a quarantine officer, etc. Before he left Nauvoo Brigham Young had announced his intention of setting up an American state in the western wilds. At no time had he dreamed of locating outside his beloved country although urged to do so by some of his closest associates. Crossing the plains, he addressed an appeal to President James K. Polk, dated August 6, 1846, accompanied by a formal resolution, stating that as soon as the people were settled in the Great Basin they wished to present a petition to the United States for a territorial government "bounded on the north by the British, and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Sierra Mountains." Nothing disloyal nor timid in that avowal, surely! It seems now like a large order, but in 1847–49, there was nobody who desired to dispute the Mormon claim to all that unknown and forbidding waste land.

The people began knocking at the door of the central government for admission long before that government was sure that it wanted anything to do with these mob-driven Americans. Nor were the Mormons at all modest in their appeals for territory and a place in the "American sun." Nobody but the savages and trappers were between them and the shores of the Pacific, where the gold rush had begun to draw the argonauts, and no one wished for the barren territory lying between them and Mexico, nor between them and the Northern Pacific coast where the few Oregon settlers were trying to settle the vexed British-American question of "54° 40′, or fight." With a faith in the loyalty of his people and an abiding trust in the future of his country Brigham Young was ready to assume the colonisation of a vast sweep of desert country—under the protection of the Stars and Stripes, always.

Said he at this time: "Should hostilities arise between the Government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claim of the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours, and of right; no foreign power should hold dominion there; and if our services are required to prevent it, these services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability. We feel the injuries that we have sustained, and are not insensible of the wrongs we have suffered; still we are Americans."

Early in 1849 a convention of "the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains" was summoned by the leaders to meet in Great Salt Lake City. This convention assembled on March 4, 1849. A committee was appointed to draft a Constitution under which the people might govern themselves until Congress should otherwise provide by law.

A "provisional" government was organised, therefore, in 1849 under the name of State of Deseret. The meaning of the word "deseret" is "honey-bee;" the word is taken from the Book of Mormon and well signifies the character of the people who chose it. The state emblem is a beehive. The seat of government was to be at Salt Lake City and its powers were to be divided into the legislative and judiciary branches. The legislative authority was vested in a general assembly consisting of a senate and house of representatives to be elected by the people. There was to be a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor and Treasurer. Then came the Supreme Court and such inferior courts as might be necessary. This step to incorporate a state in a western wilderness was astonishing in 1849. Neither Oregon nor California had attempted such a thing. California was largely Spanish in government and people at that time.

During this "provisional" period all citizens of Utah, both men and women, black men and red men, if such were present in the voting assemblies, used the franchise on all public questions. All public policies, such as the appointment of civil or church officials, of road and bridge building, of petitions to

Congress for statehood, of laws and legislatures, these matters were placed before the assemblies by the Leaders, as they had been by the Prophet, for consent or dissent, to be voted for by the entire population.

On March 5 a general convention and election in the large bowery was held, which resulted in Brigham Young being elected Governor of "the provisional state of Deseret," with Willard Richards, Secretary, Horace S. Eldredge, Marshal, and Daniel H. Wells, Attorney General. Heber C. Kimball was elected Chief Justice, with John Taylor and Newel K. Whitney, associate judges.

While the saints were thus settling down in the new territory, the Government at Washington decided to make a preliminary survey across the continent for a projected railway as well as to carry out a complete topographical survey of the region. The surveying party was in charge of Captain Howard Stansbury, and associated with him was Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison. Rumours reached Salt Lake City of the approach of the party. Brigham Young learned that it consisted of some twenty men including a few Californian emigrants. What its real mission was he had no knowledge, but rumours were disquieting enough. One of General Wilson's men, the newly-appointed Indian Agent for California, who passed through the Valley a few days ahead of Captain Stansbury's party, boasted that Stansbury had been given power to pre-empt all the lands in the name of the Government and to drive the Mormons out if they made any objection.

Brigham Young was always cautious. He was not disposed to believe all rumours, but was nevertheless aware of the prejudice which many Government officials entertained against the people. Captain Stansbury in turn was aware of these rumours long before he reached the Valley, on August 28, 1849. Both he and Lieutenant Gunnison had been warned in the east that their lives would be in danger if they entered Salt Lake City. Neither paid much heed to such warnings but on their arrival in the new settlement they at once called on Brigham Young, anxious to secure the good will of the Governor of the new territory. Learning the scientific character of the expedition, he assured both Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison that he and his people welcomed any Government exploration of the unsettled great desert, for such a survey was essential to proper settlement of the land. He further told Captain Stansbury that it was in their own minds to make such a survey, lacking only time and funds to carry it through. Every possible assistance was promised and furnished. Both these officials spent nearly a year in and around the Great Salt Lake Basin, when Captain Stansbury left for the east accompanied by an efficient Mormon escort. Both of these men were entertained by the Church leaders, were shown every courtesy and both responded kindly and justly to this fair-minded treatment.

Not all travellers and emigrants passing through the Valley were thus open-minded and honourable. The shorter route and the certainty of fresh food supplies drew most of the gold-seekers through the Wasatch Mountain trail. Some were extremely careless of the other's rights, letting their cattle and horses loose to graze in gardens and fields, as fences were not all secure. Others took the liberty of setting up saloons or drinking-places in the Valley limits or gave way to turbulent behaviour. Friction and sometimes arrests followed. But the Leader counselled patience and generosity in dealing with these transients. Said he in meetings frequently: "Let no man go hungry from your doors. Divide with them and trust in God for more."

Both Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison wrote books on their travels and explorations, and they are indelible records of Mormon justice and fair dealing. Lieutenant Gunnison writes:

> "We found them (in 1849), organised into a state, with all the order of legislative, judicial, and executive offices regularly filled, under a con-

stitution eminently republican in sentiment, and tolerant in religion; and though the authority of Congress has not yet sanctioned this form of government, presented and petitioned for, they proceed quietly with all the routine of an organised self-governing people, under the title of a Territory—being satisfied to abide their time when they shall be deemed fit to take a sovereign position. . . . They lay and collect taxes, raise and equip troops for protection, in full sovereignty, on the soil they helped to conquer first and subdue to use afterward."

Captain Stansbury records:

"Justice was equitably administered alike, to 'saint' and 'gentile'—as they term all who are not of their persuasion. Of the truth of this, as far at least as the Gentiles were concerned, I soon had convincing proof, by finding one fine morning some twenty of our mules safely secured in the public pound, for trespass upon the cornfield of some pious saint; possession was recovered only by paying the fine imposed by the magistrate and amply remunerating the owner for the damage done to his crops.

"Their courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who, having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression by those passing through their midst were not made in vain; and I know of at least one instance in which the marshal of the State was despatched with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, in pursuit of some miscreants, who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owner.

"In their dealings with the crowds of emigrants that passed through the city, the Mormons were ever fair and upright, taking no advantage of the necessitous conditions of many, if not most of them. They sold them such provisions as they could spare, at moderate prices, and such as they themselves paid in their dealings with each other. In the whole of our intercourse with them which lasted rather more than a year, I cannot refer to a single instance of fraud or extortion to which any of the party was subjected; and I strongly incline to the opinion that the charges that have been preferred against them in this respect, arose either from interested misrepresentation or erroneous information. I certainly never experienced anything like it in my own case, nor did I witness or hear of any instance of it in the case of others, while I resided among them.

"Too many that passed through their settlements were disposed to disregard their claim to the land they occupied, to ridicule the municipal

> regulations of their city, and to trespass wantonly upon their rights. Such offenders were promptly arrested by the authorities, made to pay a severe fine, and in some instances were imprisoned or made to labour on the public works; a punishment rightly merited, and which would have been inflicted upon them in any civilised community. In short, these people presented the appearance of a quiet, orderly, industrious, and well-organised society, as much so as one would meet with in any city of the Union, having the rights of personal property as perfectly defined and as religiously respected as with ourselves; nothing being farther from their faith or practice than the spirit of communism, which has been most erroneously supposed to prevail among them."

The trail of gold-seekers to California was both a hardship and yet in certain ways a blessing to the saints. The presence of thousands of strangers and the opening by them of drinking saloons, hotels and shops brought in their wake temptations, particularly to the younger members of the community.

Brigham Young hated vice in every form. Stealing, lying, taking advantage of the weak and helpless, drunkenness, gluttony, greed, swearing, Sabbath breaking, these were intolerable to his puritan-trained mind; while murder, and its associate crime, adultery, he loathed and feared with a passion that almost prevented him from separating the sin from the sinner.

He had occasion to dread the influence of the lawless lives lived by many of the thousands of gold-seeking adventurers who drifted leisurely through the state in their passage through this half-way oasis between the thousand miles to east and west. For the women of the community, seen through adventurous eyes, and with the seemingly broken-virtue-barriers of plural marriages, were looked upon by many travellers as fair game indeed. To hold his own people, both men and women, to the rigid moral standards of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, tolerating, as it does, no double standard of virtue; to prevent indecent approaches, or even attacks upon innocent, guileless and helpless girls and women, this task was gigantic in its moral and physical aspects. To inspire age and youth to love virtue for its own sake and to choose restraint and self-control willingly, was the task of a super-man.

Then, too, came the associated need of quieting and preventing the alluring gold-glitter from corrupting the youthful and sometimes the mature men with that illusive mirage which persuaded the mind that palaces are homes and that wealth is the only key to happiness; it was also imperative to protect the youth from association with transient adventurers; yet both were vital.

However, men trading with gold-seeking passing emigrants must not take advantage of extreme want; homes must be opened to travellers with due caution, where actual want or illness beset the passing California emigrants. Yet such emigrants might not lawfully profane, carouse, nor gamble, traduce nor seduce as they passed on their way. All through the early pioneer days sobriety, temperance and self-control marked the teachings and example of the Leader and his associates. He urged the people to build their homes, their schools and churches in close-knit villages so that the temptations of lonely farm and sheep-camp life might be minimised.

The one great benefit derived from these passing transients was the exchange of eastern goods for home-grown commodities. Incidentally, it was the fulfilment of a remarkable prophecy uttered by Heber C. Kimball in the fall of 1848 to the effect that "goods would be cheaper and more plentiful in Salt Lake City than in St. Louis or New York." To the then starving saints, subsisting like Indians on sego lily roots, and envious of the Red man's ability to get along on almost nothing, the remark was exasperating nonsense. But in 1849 the saying came literally true, as the territory's first tourists recklessly sacrificed vast quantities of surplus property that they might hasten forward to their Californian gold.

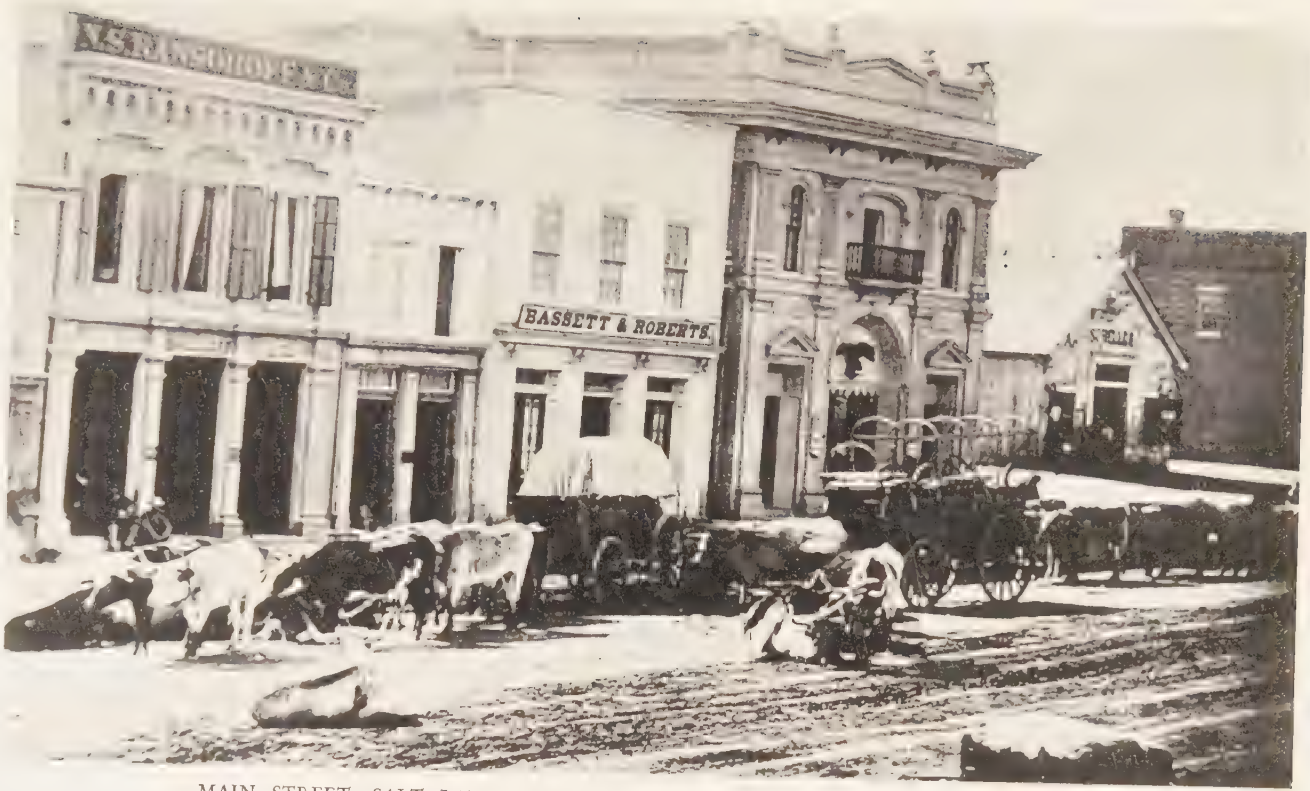
An interesting phase of early Utah history is the attitude of the people regarding the liquor question. A resolution was passed the very first year against the use and sale of ardent spirits. "It was resolved," says Brigham Young in his private journal, "that no corn should be made into whisky or alcohol and that if any man was preparing to use grain in such manner it should be taken from him and given to the poor."

He was severe in his denunciation of the liquor traffic: "Any man who will make whisky to use or sell, would sell the Kingdom of God for a picayune. I despise the whisky-maker more than I do thieves, and I have no use for either. Harlots and publicans will enter the Kingdom of God before the whisky dealer. 'Cursed is he that putteth the cup to his brother's lips.'" In later years the Presidency and Counsel of Twelve resolved that liquor dealers must repent and forsake their business or lose their standing in the Church.

The strictest temperance was enjoined upon all the people —their prohibition extending to tobacco, and even to tea and coffee or any so-called foods or drinks containing alcohol in any proportion or drugs that might prove in the least degree injurious to the body. Physical health and vigour was and is taught as being fundamental to spiritual well-being.

The discovery of gold in California thus projected a new set of problems for Mormon leaders and the people to solve; and, not least, accentuated the fact that the world had followed them quickly, and isolation was not part of God's programme. As early as 1850 Salt Lake City had a population of about 6,000, while nearly as many more were scattered in the various other settlements that had been founded in the broad valleys. Some 16,333 acres were at this early period under cultivation on which were raised 128,711 bushels of grain and the value of the livestock is given as just over $500,000. Yet three years previously the land was regarded as irredeemable desert!

The city boasted many public buildings, including a small Tabernacle capable of holding 2,500 people, and a Council House. Main Street was dotted with shops and there were several hotels. Irrigating streams ran down between the sidewalks and the one hundred and thirty-two foot wide roadways were planted with quick-growing cottonwood, locust, acacia and poplar trees brought from nearby canyons or brought in


BASSETT & ROBERTS.

MAIN STREET, SALT LAKE CITY, AS IT APPEARED IN 1864, ONLY SEVENTEEN YEARS AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE PIONEERS

from the East or West. An excellent sanitary supervision was maintained by the City Council, which extended to the minutest object that might endanger the general health of the community. A quarantine officer met all emigrant trains and isolated any cases of contagious disease. The Jordan River, a stream which flows from Utah Lake into the Great Salt Lake, passing Salt Lake City on the east was bridged at a cost of $6,000. The farms around the city to the south and west resembled in the spring a huge patchwork quilt of many colours.

That the people wished to be recognised and understood by their beloved country is but a matter of record. Said the Leader:

> "Although as a people we have been driven from state to state, and although Joseph and Hyrum, our Prophet and Patriarch, were murdered in cold blood, while in government duress, and under the immediate control, inspection, and supervision of the governor and government officers, we know, and feel assured, that there are many honest, noble and patriotic souls now living under that government, and under other similar governments in the sister states of the great confederacy, who would loathe the shedding of innocent blood, and were it in their power, would wipe the stain from the nation. . . . We again reiterate what we have often said, and what we have ever shown by our conduct, that, notwithstanding all our privations and sufferings, we are more ready than other portions of the community to sustain the constitutional institutions of our country, and will do the utmost for them, if permitted; and we say to all saints throughout the earth: be submissive to the law that protects you in your person, rights and property, in whatever nation or kingdom you are; and suffer wrong, rather than do wrong. This we have ever done, and mean still to continue to do. We anticipate, as soon as circumstances will permit, to petition for a territorial government in the Great Basin."

In September, 1850, the Government at Washington acceded to the request of Brigham Young that the huge tract of country over which he presided be admitted into the Union as a territory. He was appointed Governor, but the name chosen for the new territory was Utah, after a tribe of Indians known as the Utes, the word meaning "good things to eat." The provisional State of Deseret as proposed by Brigham Young was much larger than the present State of Utah, which has an area of 84,970 square miles (almost equal to the combined areas of England, Wales and Scotland).

All western states, and especially western territories, were often plagued with scapegoat political appointees who were thrust out of the eastern boiling political pot, either to get them out of the way or to give them a soft job with good pay. These political appointees were quite generally denounced by all the western peoples. Especially did poor Utah, with her religious complex and her northern sympathies, come in for abuse by officials and renegade appointees.

When Congress recognised the new Territory of Utah, some of the officials sent out West were eastern men, appointed either as a reward or as a punishment for certain political acts. It was the personnel of the territorial officials appointed in 1850, and thereafter, which caused the violently conflicting forces about Congress and the President. The first officers appointed by President Millard Fillmore were: Brigham Young, Governor; B. D. Harris, of Vermont, Secretary; Joseph Buffington, of Pennsylvania, Chief Justice; Perry G. Brocchus, of Alabama, and Zerubbabel Snow, of Ohio, Associate Justices; Seth M. Blair, Attorney; and Joseph L. Heywood, Marshal. The latter three were residents of the territory. Buffington declined to serve and L. C. Brandebury, of Pennsylvania, was appointed in his stead. Here was as forceful a human mixture for resultant comedy or tragedy as was ever brewed.

Mr. Bancroft, the historian, says:

> "The authorities were kindly received by the saints; and had they been men of ability and discretion, content to discharge their duty without interfering with the social and religious peculiarities of the people, all would have been well; but such was not their character or policy, Judge Brocchus especially was a vain and ambitious man, full of self-importance, fond of intrigue, corrupt, revengeful, hypocritical."

Judge Brocchus began his public career in Utah with a ribald attack on the people from the pulpit in the Bowery to which he had been courteously invited by Governor Brigham Young. He harangued the people for two hours, describing their disloyalty and other sins, dwelling heavily on the subject of polygamy, its heinousness and immorality, urging "the ladies present to come out of it and become virtuous women."

Naturally his tirade was not well received. The Governor arose, stilled the tumult, yet roundly chastised the blatant official, declaring that he "was profoundly ignorant or perversely wicked."[5]

This episode might have ended in tragedy for Brocchus, as enraged husbands were not altogether unwilling to administer a thrashing to the man who could so shamelessly misinterpret a principle held sacred by the people he addressed, and so grossly insult virtuous wives in the hearing of outraged husbands. It did culminate in a series of unhappy events, finally precipitating a near conflict between the innocent and maligned people of Utah and the United States Government.

The Brocchus case, together with many other similar outrageous proceedings were presented both in the eastern press and in Washington and so much feeling was engendered thereby that two of the officials, Harris and Brandebury, resigned. Brocchus further proved his animus with a final characteristic retreat to Washington where he continued to vilify the "Mormons." He laboured everywhere to secure sympathy for himself through denunciation of the "Mormon" people.

Another of the early Government officials who was instrumental in arousing much prejudice in Washington against the people of Utah, was Judge W. W. Drummond, a man without any moral background. He left his family in Illinois without means of support and brought with him a courtesan whom he had picked up in the streets of Washington, as was amply proved by his own declaration. He set his paramour on the bench beside him in the Utah courts, insulting the Utah community by openly declaring his harlot was on a par with polygamous wives. He proceeded to upset former court rulings and stir things up generally.

Naturally he aroused a storm of indignation in the territory. He wrote lying accounts of all that he found in Utah, and at last deserted his post. Thus completed a record of succeeding Government runaway officials that was unique even in western territorial annals. "One of these officials," says Bancroft, "was an opium eater, one a drunkard, and one a gambler and a lecher," and two of them deserted their posts for California. Bancroft speaks thus of Drummond:

> "Gambler and bully, he openly avowed that he had come to Utah to make money, and in the presence of the Chief Justice declared 'Money is my God!'
>
> "He stayed only a few months, then went on to California, no doubt in search of his god, gold! He sent, in his letter of resignation to the attorney-general at Washington, a tissue of misrepresentation and even lies. He painted the people of Utah as disloyal in word and act, said the saints slandered 'the chief executives in the most loathsome, vulgar and wicked manner,' that the evil passions of men cannot possibly be conceived! La! La! It sounds as if somebody had been calling Drummond names! He also reported, falsely, that the records and papers of the Supreme Court had been destroyed by order of the Church. There was much more in the same strain, all afterwards proved false by U. S. officials themselves. He it was who appealed for an army to be sent to Utah."

Not all the Government appointees were scoundrels. Some of them were fine, honourable men. Among these were Chief Justice L. H. Reed, who was only a few years in Utah. Then came Judge L. Shaver, Secretary B. G. Ferris and later Chief Justice John F. Kinney who took no part in these lying stories. Chief Justice Reed attended to his duties like a man and a gentleman. Judge Shaver was also a high-principled courageous friend and official. When such were found they were always given the "glad hand," were made to feel welcome and were given every assistance in the discharge of their duties, as is amply proven by current historical data.

The subsequent perplexities and difficulties of the "Mormon" people, are popularly accredited to the efforts of Brocchus, Drummond and other lying officials and to their fanatical attempts to make the people relinquish all their rights to spiritual as well as political freedom. Largely through their efforts and representations, the uncharitable and bigoted elements of the country were brought into array against Governor Young, and President Franklin Pierce was prevailed upon to remove him from the Governorship. Governor Young's first term was about expired and President Pierce decided to replace him, no matter at what cost. The man first named to succeed him, in 1854, Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe, investigated affairs in Utah, remaining in the Valley throughout the winter. He decided that the lying reports concerning Governor Young on various accounts were false. Therefore, in January, 1854, he sent back a refutation of Drummond's charges, and a manly refusal to act as Governor, endorsing Brigham Young with a strong recommendation that he be reappointed Governor. His words concerning the matter are:

To His Excellency, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States.
Dec. 30th, 1854.

"Your petitioners would respectfully represent that, whereas Governor Brigham Young possesses the entire confidence of the people of this Territory, without distinction of party or sect; and from personal acquaintance and social intercourse we find him to be a firm supporter of the constitution and laws of the United States and a tried pillar of Republican institutions; and having repeatedly listened to his remarks, in private as well as in public assemblies, we do know he is the warm friend and able supporter of constitutional liberty, the rumours published in the states notwithstanding; and having canvassed to our satisfaction his doings as Governor, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and also the disposition of the appropriation for public buildings for the Territory, we do most cordially and cheerfully represent that the same has been expended to the best interest of the nation; and whereas his reappointment would subserve the Territorial interest better than the appointment of any other man, and would meet with the gratitude of the entire inhabitants of the Territory, and his removal would cause the deepest feeling of sorrow and regret; and it being our unqualified

> opinion, based upon the personal acquaintance which we have formed with Governor Young, and from our observation of the results of his influence and administration in this Territory, that he possesses in an eminent degree every qualification necessary for the discharge of his official duties, and unquestioned integrity and ability, that he is decidedly the most suitable person that can be selected for that office.
>
> "We therefore take pleasure in recommending him to your favourable consideration, and do earnestly request his reappointment as Governor, and Superintendent of Indian affairs for this Territory."

This document was signed by Colonel Steptoe and every other United States Army officer in the Territory, as well as by all of the Federal civil officials, and by every merchant and prominent citizen of Salt Lake City. President Pierce accordingly re-appointed Brigham Young as Governor of the Territory some time in January, 1855.

Captain Stansbury, in his report, has this to say about Mormon loyalty:

> "Whether in the pulpit, in public address, in official documents or in private intercourse, the same spirit of lofty patriotism seemed to pervade the whole community. At the same time, it should not be concealed that a stern determination exists among them to submit to no repetition of the outrages to which they were subjected in Illinois and Missouri."

Said Brigham Young himself:

> "I am a Green Mountain boy, I was born in the State of Vermont, and plead for my rights, and the rights of this people, upon the broad Constitution of the United States, which we shall certainly maintain, in spite of the poor, political cheats that pretend to enforce the Constitution. I ask no odds of them. I will feed them, if they come hungry to my door, for they are flesh of my flesh. . . . The King upon the throne, and the President in his chair, are the same to me as these poor Californian emigrants, who are lying around my doors—when they are hungry, I feed them; when they are sick, I nurse them; the same as I would the President of the United States, or any of the Kings of Europe, unless they were better men.
>
> "We also further declare for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire, by sword, by daylight nor by midnight assassinations which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country."

Meanwhile the people of Utah proceeded rigorously and happily on their way, making few laws, the great majority obeying those already made, building towns, cities and industries to the credit of themselves and the nation of which they were a loyal part. Brigham Young was their Governor and he could well challenge the world on his record as the executive of a happy, prosperous, and peaceful commonwealth!

# XVI

## THE "ECHO CANYON WAR"

Washington Appoints New Governor of Utah—Despatches Army to Suppress "Rebellion among the Mormons"—Saints Hear the News during Celebration in the Mountains—Entrance of Army into Utah Forbidden—Reasons for the Church's Action—Troops Held Up in the Mountain Passes—Colonel Kane Sent to Salt Lake City—Tests Mormon Hospitality by Hiding His Identity—New Governor Installed—Government Insistent on Troops Entering the Valley—The "Move South."

WHILE the saints were busy developing their Valley homes, doing their best to subdue the Indians around them, and opening up the new Territory to genuine settlement, they were startled to learn that President James Buchanan at Washington had decided on a change of Governorship, and also on the appointment of fresh judges to the new territory. Furthermore, an army was to accompany the new appointees in order to sustain their authority and suppress the "rebellion among the Mormon people."

The officials at Washington had taken this drastic and unfortunate decision as a result of unfounded accusations against the Mormons—accusations which no government should have accepted without first making an investigation, which could easily have been done. Besides, there were officials in Washington, just and honourable men, who were well acquainted with the conditions then prevailing in Utah, and who could easily have been consulted. But Utah was a new territory far from Washington, and the backwash, as it were, of political intrigue. Several of the first Federal officers sent to the new territory were dissolute men who were given their posts for political reasons. The people soon discovered their misdeeds, which were generally condemned. Thus these men became enemies of the Mormon people.

Among the groundless accusations made by Judge Drummond, who had left the Territory in disgrace, were these: "That there is a secret oath-bound organisation among all the male members of the Church to resist the laws of the country. . . . There is a set of men, set apart by special order of the Church, to take both the lives and property of persons who may question the authority of the Church. . . . The records, papers, etc., of the Supreme Court have been destroyed by order of the Church, with the direct knowledge and approbation of Governor Brigham Young, and the federal officers grossly insulted for presuming to raise a single question about the treasonable act. . . . The federal officers of the Territory are constantly insulted, harassed, and annoyed by the Mormons, and for these insults, there is no redress."

Such terrible accusations were accepted as fact by the Government officials at Washington and that, too, without any question. Denials by such men as Judge Kinney and Mr. C. E. Bolton, Judge and Deputy Clerk of the Supreme Court of Utah, were absolutely ignored. Unfortunately mails were slow and during the spring of 1857, because of Indian troubles on the Plains, Salt Lake City was cut off completely.

Without a word of warning to the people of the Territory a force of 2,500 soldiers was ordered to Utah under the command of Brigadier-General W. S. Harney and Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. In their company was Mr. Alfred Cumming, of Georgia, who was to be installed as the new Governor of Utah. Also there were other Federal appointees of the Territory. On the way out the soldiers declared that the Mormons were in rebellion against the Government and that they were going to Utah on an order of extermination.

When the Mormon agents at the Emigration Bureau on the Missouri River heard of the coming of the army, scouts were sent post-haste to the Valley to warn Brigham Young. Three of these men rode five hundred miles in five days and three hours. When the messengers arrived at Salt Lake City they found the people had left their homes and had gathered in one of the most beautiful canyons of the Wasatch Mountains, near the city, celebrating in one grand combined gathering the two July holidays—July 4, the nation's birthday, and July 24, the state's birthday—also ten years of peaceful prosperity in the beautiful valleys of the mountains. They were quite innocent of the fact that a hostile force was being sent against them. When the people learned the news which the three weary travel-stained scouts had brought, they were amazed and the stoutest hearts began to waver. But the Leader called the people together, explained the situation, counselled them to finish their festivities, and then to return quietly to their own homes.

Brigham Young was still governor and he invoked martial law throughout the Territory and forbade any armed force from entering its confines. He then despatched a messenger with a signed protest to the seat of Government at Washington, sending his document to the care of his friend in Washington, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, for presentation to the President.

Meanwhile, the army reached Fort Laramie and at once they met organised resistance. The Nauvoo Legion, under Lieutenant-General D. H. Wells, occupied all the mountain passes and under orders they had burned Fort Bridger and its supplies. They had been counselled by Brigham Young to shed no blood and to provoke no quarrels, but to keep the army out of the Valley through the coming winter. They destroyed some Government trains. They set fire to the grass, and harried the troops on the right hand and on the left. Not a shot was fired, not a drop of blood was shed, but even the reckless courage of Colonel Johnston who had charge of the troops did not avail in the face of this determined resistance. His invading army camped upon Black's Fork.

In September, 1857, Captain Stewart Van Vliet, who was head of the Commissary Department, entered the Valley to survey conditions of food and forage. When he arrived in Salt Lake City he was received with marked cordiality by Brigham Young and the officials of the Church, but was definitely informed that the army could not enter the city, and if they invaded it the people would abandon it, set their houses on fire and destroy their fruit trees and root up every plant.

Captain Van Vliet was amazed at the beauty of the city, its homes and gardens, and overawed by the declaration of the people that they would lay it all in waste if the army invaded it. On his return to the fort he made this report to the commanding general: "He (Governor Young), stated that the Mormons had been persecuted, murdered and robbed in Missouri and Illinois by the mob and the State authorities, and that now the United States were about to pursue the same course in Utah. He and his people had determined to resist all persecution at the commencement and to stop the troops entering Salt Lake Valley. As he uttered these words all those present concurred most heartily in what he said.

"I told them they might prevent the small military force now approaching Utah from getting through the narrow defiles and rugged passes of the mountains this year, but that next season the government would send troops sufficient to overcome all opposition. The answer to this was invariably the same: 'We are aware that such will be the case, but when those troops arrive, they will find Utah a desert, every house will be burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste. We have provisions on hand for years to come, which we will cache, and then take to the mountains, and bid defiance to all the powers of the government.'

"I attended their service on Sunday, and in the course of a sermon delivered by Elder Taylor, he referred to the approach of the troops, and declared they should not enter the Territory. He then referred to the probability of an overpowering force being sent against them, and desired all present who would apply the torch to their own buildings, cut down their trees and lay waste their fields, to hold up their hands; every hand, in an audience numbering over four thousand persons, was raised at the same moment."

The following extracts from conversations between Brigham Young and Captain Van Vliet are of interest, inasmuch as they were made prior to the receipt in Salt Lake City of the news of the Mountain Meadows massacre, referred to in a previous chapter, while they also depict the delicate position of affairs in Utah at this critical time. They are transcribed from Apostle Woodruff's journal and their accuracy may be relied upon.

Said Brigham Young: "We do not want to fight the United States, but if they drive us to it, we shall do the best we can; and I will tell you, as the Lord lives, we shall come off conquerors, for we trust Him. God has set up his kingdom on the earth, and it will never fail. We shall do all we can to avert a collision, but if they drive us to it, God will overthrow them. We are the supporters of the constitution and respect the laws of the United States; but it is by the corrupt administration of these laws that we are made to suffer. . . . Most of the government officials who have been sent here have taken no interest in us, but, on the contrary, have tried many times to destroy us."

"This is the case with most men sent to the Territories," declared Captain Van Vliet. "They receive their offices as a political reward, or as a stepping-stone to the Senatorship; but they have no interest in common with the people. This people has been lied about the worst of any I ever saw. The greatest hold that the government now has upon you is in the accusation that you have burned the United States records."

"I deny that any books of the United States have been burned," replied Brigham Young. "All I ask of any man is, that he tell the truth about us, pay his debts and not steal and then he will be welcome to come and go as he likes. If the government has arrived at the state that it will try to kill this people because of their religion, no honourable man should be afraid of it. We would like to ward off this blow if we can; but the United States seem determined to drive us into a fight. They will kill us if they can. A mob killed Joseph and Hyrum in jail, notwithstanding the faith of the state was pledged to protect them. I have broken no law, and under the present state of affairs I will not suffer myself to be taken by any United States officer to be killed as they killed Joseph."

"I do not think it is the intention of the government to arrest you, but to install a new Governor in the Territory."

"I believe you tell the truth—that you believe this," was Brigham Young's reply. "But you do not know their intentions as well as I do. When you get away from here you will think of a great many things that you have seen and heard; for instance, people have accused us of colleaguing with the Indians against the government. They were much afraid that Joseph Smith would go among the Indians, and they wanted to keep him away from them; but now they have driven us into their midst. If the government persists in sending an army to destroy us, in the name of the Lord we shall conquer them. If they dare to force the issue, I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer, for white men to shoot at them; they shall go ahead and do as they please. If the issue comes, you may tell the government to stop all emigration across this continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it. And if an army succeeds in penetrating this valley tell the government to see that it has forage and provisions in store, for they will find here only a charred and barren waste."

"If our government pushes this matter to the extent of making war upon you," declared Captain Van Vliet, "I will withdraw from the army, for I will not have a hand in shedding the blood of American citizens."

"We shall trust in God," was Brigham Young's reply. "Congress," he also added, "has promptly sent investigating committees to Kansas and other places, as occasion has required; but upon the merest rumour it has sent 2,000 armed soldiers to destroy the people of Utah, without investigating the subject at all."

"The government may yet send an investigating committee to Utah," was the answer Captain Van Vliet made. "I am anxious to get back to Washington as soon as I can. I have heard officially that General Harney has been recalled to Kansas to officiate as Governor. I shall stop the train at Hams Fork, on my own responsibility."

"I believe God sent you here, and that good will grow out of it," was Brigham Young's final declaration. "I was glad when I heard you were coming. If we can keep the peace for this winter I do think there will be something turn up that may save the shedding of blood."

Brigham Young was anxious to keep the troops out of the Valley for the season, not only because he feared the slaughter which might take place if the determined soldiers faced his own desperate people, but he knew also that time was his friend and delay would help his ally, Colonel Kane, to bring about at the seat of Government some peaceful adjustment of this tragic blunder. He also knew that an extra hard winter had lessened the food supply of man and beast in Utah and that all food resources must be guarded. There were but scanty supplies for the people, let alone food for the army.

New Year's Day, 1858, was celebrated in the evening with a party in Ballo's Hall. Ballo's string band was the finest and most popular in the Valley. The usual mid-evening address by Brigham Young assured the people that all would be well if the saints were but patient and faithful. But it was a time of much sickness; no doubt the nervous tension added to the strain upon the families of anxious women and restless children.

In the following February the California mails came through with reports that 4,000 soldiers were coming from

Oregon and 2,000 more from the East. It was a time of anxiety for all.

The troops already in the Territory were locked up in Camp Scott 150 miles from the Valley. It was the severest winter known in the West. Snow was piled up, and zero weather held cattle and men in freezing embrace. No need for mountain scouts to keep an enemy out.

The memorial sent by Brigham Young in the previous September to the President of the United States was supplemented in the January of 1858 by a long document signed by all the legislature and the citizens of Utah, pleading with the Government for their constitutional rights. Meanwhile saner judgment and deliberation began to fill both press and legislative circles in the East concerning the treatment of the Mormons. When Colonel Kane received Brigham Young's letter he at once hastened to Washington and again offered his services to the President. He found the President determined to appoint another Governor, but sent Colonel Kane to Utah as a private envoy of the Government.

Colonel Kane left his home in the middle of a severe winter, and sailed from New York, going around South America to San Francisco, down to San Bernardino and reaching Salt Lake City on February 25. He was announced in the despatches to Utah as a "Dr. Osborne." He wished to see how the Mormons would receive and treat a stranger, so he withheld his identity until certain of his reception. But when he met Brigham Young he was greeted like a friend and brother. On the evening of his arrival a council of the Presidency and Twelve were called and Colonel Kane was introduced as "Dr. Osborne, the messenger from Washington." The Colonel was very pale, being worn with travel by day and night and he appeared to speak with difficulty.

"Governor Young and Gentlemen," began the Colonel. "I come as an ambassador from the chief executive of our nation, and am prepared and duly authorised to lay before you, most fully and definitely, the feelings and views of the citizens of our common country and of the Executive towards you, relative to the present position of this Territory, and relative to the army of the United States now upon your borders.

"After giving you the most satisfactory evidence in relation to matters concerning you, now pending, I shall then call your attention, and wish to enlist your sympathies, on behalf of the poor soldiers who are now suffering in the cold and snow of the mountains. I shall request you to render them aid and comfort, and to assist them to come here, and to bid them a hearty welcome into your hospitable city.

"Governor Young, may I be permitted to ask for a private interview for a few minutes with you? Gentlemen, excuse my formality."

They were gone about thirty minutes. On their return Colonel Kane informed the council how Captain Van Vliet had made a good report of them at Washington, and had used his influence to have the army stop east of Fort Bridger. Then he spoke of the evident prosperity of the people. He praised them for the patience they had displayed under very trying conditions, and in reply to Brigham Young's question as to how the President received his message, answered:

"The message was received as usual. In his appointments the President had been cruelly impartial. So far he has made an excellent President. He has an able Cabinet. They are more united, and work together better than some of our former Cabinets have done."

"I suppose," observed Brigham Young caustically, "they are united in putting down Utah?"

"I think not," replied the Colonel.

The conversation became general and very soon all restraint between the brethren and their noble friend had gone.

That evening word was sent to Elder William C. Staines that a "Dr. Osborne," travelling with the company from California, was sick and desired accommodation at his house. Here he was cordially welcomed, his host being quite ignorant of his real identity. When he discovered it a few days later he asked the Colonel why he had posed as Dr. Osborne.

"My dear friend," replied the Colonel. "I was once treated so kindly at Winter Quarters that I am sensitive over its memories. I knew you to be a good people then; but since I have heard so many hard things about you, I thought I would like to convince myself whether or not the people possess the same humane and hospitable spirit which I found in them once. I thought—if I go to the house of any of my great friends of Winter Quarters, they will treat me as Thomas L. Kane, with remembrance of some services which I may have rendered them. So I requested to be sent to some stranger's house, as 'Dr. Osborne,' that I might know how the Mormon people would treat a stranger at such a moment as this, without knowing whether I might not turn out to be either an enemy or a spy. And now, Mr. Staines, I want to know if you could have treated Thomas L. Kane better than you have treated Dr. Osborne?"

"No, Colonel," came the answer, "I could not."

"And thus, my friend," added "Dr. Osborne," "I have proved that the Mormons will treat the stranger in Salt Lake City as they once did Thomas L. Kane at Winter Quarters."

In a few days Colonel Kane was sufficiently restored in health to carry out his design of proceeding to the headquarters of the army at Fort Bridger, then called Camp Scott. He was accompanied by an escort supplied by Brigham Young and at the camp he not only found the army, but the newly-appointed Governor, Alfred Cumming. He assured Colonel Johnston and Governor Cumming that Brigham Young was not in revolt and that he would welcome the new Governor to Utah. But the troops—that was another matter.

Governor Cumming, sensible man that he was, accepted the assurances of Colonel Kane and at once proceeded to Salt Lake City under the protection of the Mormon scouts, who had gone out with Colonel Kane. They entered the city on April 12, 1858, and were entertained at the residence of Elder Staines. Brigham Young lost no time in calling upon his successor, to whom he was introduced by Colonel Kane.

"Governor Cumming! I am glad to meet you," observed Brigham Young, with unostentatious dignity and that quiet heartiness peculiar to him.

"Governor Young, I am happy to meet you, sir!" responded His Excellency warmly, at once impressed by the presence and spirit of the remarkable man before him. He remarked later to his host: "No tyrant ever had a head on his shoulders like Mr. Young. He is naturally a very good man. I doubt whether many of your people appreciate his worth as a leader."

The brethren were apprised of the fact that the officers at Camp Scott had warned the Governor that the Mormons would poison him, so it was contrived that Elder Staines and Howard Egan should eat at the same table with him and partake of the same food. Of course, he understood the delicate assurance that "death was not in the pot."

Three days after his entrance into the city, Governor Cumming officially notified General Johnston that he had been properly recognised by the people; that he was in full discharge of his office, and that he did not require the presence of troops. On his part, ex-Governor Brigham Young set the public example, and on the Sunday following introduced him to a large assembly as the Governor of Utah.

But what of the army? It had been sent out at tremendous cost into the western wilderness to subdue a rebellion that did not exist and to be absent from a real rebellion that might occur any moment in the Eastern States. It was freely charged in Washington that the man who secured the army contract for flour made a profit of over $175,000. Oh, politics! What crimes are committed in thy name!

Thus successfully ended the mission of Colonel Kane, who shortly afterwards returned to Washington to report in person to the President. In his message to Congress President Buchanan referred to Colonel Kane's labour in these words: "I cannot refrain from mentioning the valuable services of Colonel Thomas L. Kane; who from motives of pure benevolence and without any official character or pecuniary compensation visited Utah during the last winter for the purpose of contributing to the pacification of the Territory."

After sufficient time the new Governor found that all the circulated reports of bad faith concerning the Mormons were false and that officially the people were as they claimed to be—happy and law-abiding. All official books and records were available and in good order.

Meanwhile the army was still beyond the mountain passes, and in the spring a governmental decree had gone forth that they should be permanently quartered in Utah. What would Brigham Young do about that? What could he do?

The President of the United States must be vindicated at all hazards. So the troops were ordered to move into the Valley. On this Governor Cumming insisted. But he had only an associate governmental control over their movements or their actions. Soldiers were soldiers and these were and had been loud in their denunciation of Mormon leaders and Mormon people. They had openly boasted of their future conquests over Mormon men, their appropriation of Mormon "harems," and the salvages of war and destruction which would be theirs. Any opposition to their entrance, to their actions, or talk on the part of the suspected leader and his people, would be instantly construed as open rebellion.

Joseph Fielding Smith, the present Church Historian, has this to say of the officers and men:

> "Colonel E. B. Alexander, the ranking officer of the advance troops, was a kindly officer inclined towards establishing peace. Captain Van Vliet had come in contact with the Latter Day Saints at Winter Quarters, when they were on the plains. Another officer with these troops, whose sympathy and good-will went out toward the Mormons was Colonel

> Philip St. George Cooke, who led the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War. General Johnston was from the South, proud and haughty. He looked upon the Mormons and spoke of them as rebels, and was inclined to treat them as such.
>
> "The spirit also prevailed among the troops that the Mormons were their common prey and they constantly, while on the march, boasted with ribald jests, of what they would do when they arrived in Salt Lake City. 'We were well informed as to the object of the coming of the army,' said Elder John Taylor to Vice-President Schuyler Colfax, in 1869. 'We had men in all their camps, and knew what was intended. There was a continual boast among the men and officers, even before they left the Missouri River, of what they intended to do with the Mormons. The houses were picked out that certain persons were to inhabit; farms, property, and women were to be distributed. 'Beauty and Booty' was their watchword. We were to have another grand Mormon conquest, and our houses, gardens, orchards, vineyards, fields, wives and daughters were to be spoils.' "

One may well understand why the Leaders were determined that the troops should not quarter in the Valley.

One avenue of escape from a possible war of extermination was open—the usual flight into the wilderness. Brigham Young had been inspired with this plan in the previous July when he first heard that an army was being sent and the brethren agreed to it. But action had been deferred in the hope that better judgment would prevail. But the Government was obdurate. The soldiers must enter Salt Lake City and Brigham Young and the leaders knew that such a course, despite all assurances to the contrary, was too risky. So to the South they would take their way! But as they fled so they would leave a trail of desolation and destruction behind them. Their homes should be burned, their farms destroyed, every garden rooted out. Not again should Shem build that Japheth might inhabit! And the "Move South" was finally set in operation.

Governor Cumming referring to the "move" in his report to Washington said: "The people, including the inhabitants of this city, are moving from every settlement in the northern part of the Territory. The roads are everywhere filled with wagons loaded with provisions and household furniture, the women and children often without shoes and hats, driving their flocks they know not where. They seem not only resigned but cheerful. It is the will of the Lord, and they rejoice to exchange the comforts of home for the trials of the wilderness. . . . Young, Kimball, and most of the influential men have left their commodious mansions without apparent regret, to lengthen the long train of wanderers. The people everywhere announce to me that the torch will be applied to every house indiscriminately throughout the country as soon as the troops attempt to cross the mountains."

The saints at Provo in the South opened their homes and hearts to the fleeing multitude. Not all, however, went to Provo, for it was a general "Move South" without any specific locality as a gathering point. Yet Provo was where the leaders went, the great mass of the people camping out, hastily putting up log and adobe rooms, sharing houses and occupying barns. Confusion was avoided as it was in crossing the plains, because of the complete organisation units made up of local and general Church officials. Brigham Young's first wagon load carried two of his wives and their nine children. They could find no temporary lodging place but a tame bear's hut-stable. This they cleaned out thoroughly, sending Bruin out to the hills, and there they encamped till better quarters were provided.

Again, President Buchanan listened to the counsel of Colonel Kane and sent out a Peace Commission, headed by ex-Governor L. W. Powell of Kentucky, who were instructed to go to Utah and forgive the Mormons, quartering the troops meanwhile in the Valley of the Salt Lake in order to be sure that the Mormons would not assault Governor Cumming! On the Commission's arrival in the Territory ex-Governor Powell lost no time in calling upon Governor Cumming accompanied by Major Ben McCulloch, representing the army.

Governor Cumming arranged for a meeting with Brigham

Young, who came up from Provo and called his associate leaders to be present in the commodious Social Hall. On the way to the meeting place Major McCulloch, as he gazed at the empty streets and houses, the closed forge and shops, and the weed-strewn streets and sidewalks, complained of the loneliness, declaring it was getting on his nerves.

"Major," answered Governor Cumming, "as you know, I brought my wife in from Camp Scott only a month ago, and when we came into this deserted city, partially deserted even then, she could not withhold her tears. She wept like a child to see this terrible sight. She besought me as only a tender woman could, to do everything in my power to bring this unhappy and wronged people back into the homes that their toil and sacrifice had created in this desert wild. . . . And I have neither taken sleep nor food, except by necessity, till President Buchanan has listened to my appeal and sent you gentlemen here to undo this most awful blunder."

# XVII

## THE ARMY IN UTAH

Peace Commission Holds Council with the Leaders—Dramatic Interruption—Deliberations Broken Off—Mormon Battle Hymn, "Zion"—Troops to Pass through Salt Lake City—Army's March through Deserted Streets—Mormons Return to their Homes—End of the "Utah War"—Outbreak of Hostilities in the East—Troops Called Home.

THE meeting of the Peace Commissioners and the Church officials at the Social Hall was an event of stirring importance. Would it result in peace or war? No one could foretell. As the time drew nigh for the meeting, the hall became the centre of profound excitement. There were gathered within its walls the leaders of a people who had been suspected, made war against, tried and found guilty, and who were now about to be forgiven, when according to the truth of the matter they were not guilty of one single count in the whole indictment.

Brigham Young was one of the first to enter the council chamber, accompanied by Heber C. Kimball, whose snapping black eyes, shining bald head and kingly form towered above many of those assembled near. They were greeted cordially by their associates, and at once took their seats on the small platform at the end of the room. Almost at the same time a whispered word went round that the Commissioners were at the door. As ex-Governor Powell and Major McCulloch entered, followed by Governor Cumming, Brigham Young rose and cordially extended a hand of welcome to his visitors.

Governor Cumming introduced Governor Powell to the Assembly and that gentleman proceeded in his customary flow of language to recite the facts connected with the presence of the Commissioners in Utah. He referred to the action of the

President of the United States in sending out the Commission and read in solemn tones the pardon sent out by that great executive. The pardon was couched in somewhat elusive terms, but it was plain that the Mormons were accused of over fifty crimes and misdemeanours, for all of which the President offered amnesty to all who would acknowledge the supremacy of the United States Government, and in this acknowledgment permit the troops now quartered outside the Territory to enter and take up quarters within said Territory. The recital concluded with a pledge of good faith to all peaceable inhabitants of the Territory and an assurance that neither the Chief Executive of the nation nor his representatives in the Territory would be found interfering with the religion or faith of the inhabitants of this region. Governor Powell emphasised the pledge on behalf of himself and associate Commissioners. He explained somewhat loftily, yet in good grace, that they did not propose to inquire into the past, but to let all that had gone before alone, and to talk and act now only for the future.

Brigham Young then called upon Elder John Taylor to speak. He knew something about trials, and persecution, for he was incarcerated and shot at in jail at Carthage with the Prophet and his brother Hyrum on that awful night when they were murdered, indeed an oversize timepiece in his watch pocket had probably saved his life. He gave utterance to some fiery discourse, tempered with the desire to bring about peace, if it could be peace with honour. His dignified and courtly manner won the admiration of the Commissioners. He was followed by Elder George A. Smith, who told the Commissioners in ten minutes more of the Mormon people's history than even Governor Cumming had ever known. He told them that the Mormons had come out to these barren vales "willingly because they had to;" and he added that they were ready "if needs must or the devil drives" to seek other homes in the same manner. Some few but fiery words were spoken by Adjutant General Ferguson, who voiced the sentiments of the whole Utah militia.

Then Brigham Young rose slowly, as though he were too full of thought and the responsibility of his position to act except with full deliberation. His voice was stern and cool, but vibrant, and it cut into every corner of that council chamber with thrilling if somewhat sharp enunciation. If his actions were deliberate there was no hesitancy in his speech.

"I have listened very attentively to the Commissioners," he said, "and will say, as far as I am concerned, I thank President Buchanan for forgiving me, but I can't really tell what I have done. I know one thing, and that is, that the people called 'Mormons' are a lawful and loyal people and have ever been. It is true Lot Smith burned some wagons last winter containing government supplies for the army. This was an overt act, and if it is for this we are pardoned, I accept the pardon. The burning of a few wagons is but a small item, yet for this, combined with false reports, the whole 'Mormon' people are to be destroyed. What has the United States Government permitted mobs to do to us in the past? Gentlemen, you can answer that question for yourselves. I can also, and so can thousands of my brethren. We have been plundered and whipped, and our houses have been burned, our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and children butchered and murdered by the score. We have been driven from our homes time and time again; but have troops ever been sent to stay or punish the mobs for their crimes? No! Have we ever received a dollar for the property that we have been compelled to leave behind? Not a dollar.

"Let the Government of our country treat us as we deserve. That is all we ask of them. We have always been loyal and expect to continue so. But hands off! Do not send your armed mobs into our midst. If you do, we will fight you, as the Lord lives. Do not threaten us with what the United States can do and will do, for we ask no odds of them or their troops. We have the God of Israel—the God of Battles—on our side, and let me tell you, gentlemen, we fear not your threats. These my brethren put their trust in the God of Israel, and we have no fears. We have proved Him, and He is our friend. Boys, how do you feel? Are you afraid?"

Instantly a crash of voices responded to Brigham Young's fearless words. They might be termed fanatics—these men —but they could never be called cowards.

"Now let me say to you, Peace Commissioners," he continued, "we are willing that the troops should come into our Territory, but not to stay in our cities. They may pass through this city, if needs be, but you must not quarter them nearer than forty miles to any city. If you bring your troops here to disturb this people, you have a bigger job on your hands than you or President Buchanan has any idea of. Before the troops reach here, this city will be in ashes, every tree and shrub will be cut to the ground, and every blade of grass that will burn shall be burned. Our wives and children will go into the canyons and take shelter in the mountains; while their husbands and sons will fight you to their last breath. And as God lives, we will hunt you by night and day till our army or yours is wasted away. No mob, armed or otherwise, can live in the homes we have built in these mountains. That's the programme, gentlemen, whether you like it or not. If you want war, you can have it; but if you wish peace, peace it is; we shall be glad of it."

Once more Governor Powell arose and in honeyed tones sought to sooth the tumult of emotions now swelling upon the high tide of that stern-visaged assembly of men. He dwelt with moving eloquence upon the great clemency of the President of the United States and the magnanimity of that authority in setting aside all past offences, and he told of the bright future which awaited a new Territory begun under such favourable auspices of frugality and industry. He praised all for their temperance and toil. He assured them that the army of the United States would not enter the Valley, only as they were given permission by that gallant and humane Territorial executive, Governor Cumming. And he was in full cry upon a swelling compliment to that genial peace-promoter when the door of the hall was flung open and a barbaric figure, hard-ridden through miles of flying dust and unwashed haste, flung himself into the room. The old slouch hat was drawn upon a mass of braided hair wound round and round the bullet-shaped head. The hooked nose, the sleepy-lidded eyes half-closed upon the eagle glance of the Mormon scout, Indian fighter, sheriff and free-lance, Porter Rockwell, sent a shivering thrill of apprehension into the breast of every mountaineer in that chamber. Porter Rockwell bore no trifling message!

A moment of converse followed in hasty, lowered tones with Brigham Young behind the back of that eloquent Kentucky politician, Governor Powell, who was just then extolling the orderliness and clemency of the troops, now quietly resting at Camp Scott; and then up rose without haste, but in sudden sternness, Brigham Young, as he said in piercing tones:

"Governor Powell, Major McCulloch, are you aware, sirs, that those troops are on the move to this city?"

"It cannot be," answered the orator Powell as he swung instantly around to face his questioner. "For we were promised by General Johnston that they should not move until after this meeting."

"I have received a dispatch, sir, that they are on the move to this city and my messenger would not deceive me."

There was a hush as of the tomb on every lip and heart in that assembly. The thunderbolt had fallen.

In that same severe, but perfectly self-possessed voice, Brigham Young asked:

"Is Brother Dunbar present?"

"Yes, sir," answered that flute-voiced musician.

"Brother Dunbar, sing 'Zion.' "

And in the electrical silence which ensued, rang out the clarion tones of the Mormon battle hymn, if such it could be called, since it embodies a spiritual triumph rather than a temporal subjugation.

O! ye mountains high, where the clear blue sky
Arches over the vales of the free,
Where the clear breezes blow
And the pure streamlets flow,
How I've longed to thy bosom to flee.
O Zion! Dear Zion! home of the free;
My own mountain home, now to thee I have come,
All my fond hopes are centred in thee.

Though the great and the wise all thy beauties despise,
To the humble and pure thou art dear;
Though the haughty may smile,
And the wicked revile,
Yet we love thy glad tidings to hear;
O Zion! Dear Zion! home of the free;
Though thou wert forced to fly to thy chambers on high,
Yet we'll share joy and sorrow with thee.

In thy mountain retreat God will strengthen thy feet;
On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread;
And their silver and gold,
As the prophets have told,
Shall be brought to adorn thy fair head.
O Zion! Dear Zion! home of the free;
Soon thy towers will shine with a splendour divine,
And eternal thy glory shall be.

Here our voices we'll raise, and we'll sing to thy praise,
Sacred home of the Prophets of God;
Thy deliverance is nigh,
Thy oppressors shall die,
And the Gentiles shall bow 'neath thy rod,
O Zion! Dear Zion! home of the free;
In thy temples we'll bend, all thy rights we'll defend,
And our home shall be ever with thee.

It was impossible to calm the tumult any more, for that day. Peace or war, the situation was very much in the hands of Brigham Young, for the time.

As the three Eastern officials made their way out of the door, with mingled chagrin and anger, Governor Cumming turning to his companions said: "What would you do with such a people?"

"Damn them, I would fight them if I had my way," answered Major McCulloch, unconvinced that the rumour was in any degree true.

"Fight them, would you?" answered the Governor sadly. "You might fight them, but you would not whip them. They would never know when they were whipped. Did you notice the fire and flash in those men's eyes? No, sir, they would never know they were whipped."

"I fear," said ex-Governor Powell, reflectively, as they retraced their way sadly through the silent echoing streets to one of the few inhabited houses in the city, the hotel on Main Street, "that the messenger is right. I had occasion to doubt the rashness of General Johnston's temper before we left the camp. Yet, I hope it is not true. I am loath to see the blood of good men shed for naught. But what a strangely dramatic people! They sing their defiance instead of announcing it."

There was another council held the next day; messengers were sent from both the Peace Commission and Governor Cumming to Camp Scott, and at length a compromise was reached. The troops should enter and remain in Utah till further orders, but they must not be quartered in Salt Lake Valley or near the settlements. Meanwhile Brigham Young, with all his associates, had fled once more to the South, and the deserted streets of the city were pressed only by the feet of the few and scattered non-Mormons who had chosen to remain through all these troubles within the borders of the unhappy Territory.

The armies of the United States were to enter the valleys of Utah. President Buchanan had said they must, the Peace Commission and Governor Cumming said they ought, and Brigham Young said they might.

At daybreak, on June 26, 1858, the advance column of the army began its march through the streets of Salt Lake City. The soldiers, whose eyes had for so many months rested on desolation, looked down from the mouth of Emigration Canyon with a pleased surprise on all the goodly evidence of civilisation about them. Houses with shining windows and comfortable porches; wide streets flanked on either side with running streams of clear cold canyon water, over whose rippling surface drooped in graceful lines the native cottonwood which had been dug from the neighbouring canyon streams and planted along every watercouse to furnish shade and rest for man and beast. Commodious houses, barns, fences and outbuildings, gave this unique city a look of mingled rural simplicity and urban attractiveness. The huge squares were laid out in large lots, whereon sat with sturdy independence each snug house, its surrounding fruit and vegetable gardens fenced in with poles or cobbles, thus forming a generous combination of orchard and kitchen garden.

The soldiers were not more curious nor more deeply impressed with the queer appearance of this well-built yet deserted city than were the officers who rode here and there inspecting their various divisions. Colonel St. George Cooke, who had been in service with the Mormon battalion in Lower California, rode through the city uncovered and with misting eye, as a silent evidence of a respect and sympathy which did his head no less honour than his heart.

So profound was the silence that at intervals between the passage of the columns, the slight monotonous gurgle of City Creek struck on every ear. The only living creatures to be seen were the group of men who stood around Governor Cumming on the Council House corner and waved a cheerful yet subdued salute to the troops as they filed lustily by.

Inside many of these houses, no sign of inhabiting life remained. The furniture was piled in great heaps, with under portions of shavings and kindlings and straw, ready to be burned at a moment's notice; while inside a few houses there were eager, watching, silent men, who held flint and steel ready to apply to these crisp piles of shavings if ever the marching feet outside had stopped and attempted any desecration. Outside everywhere great piles of straw lay upon grass, garden and out-buildings; all ready for the instant torch of destruction, should the passing army prove to be a mob.

All day the marching feet and wondering eyes passed through the desolated streets. There were no stops, no breaking ranks, save here and there where some thirsty soldier would stoop and making a cup of his hands, drink of the running sparkling streams along the road. The divisions clanged heavily along with no rest to the steady, onward, measured march. The fragrant grass-grown streets were not more eloquent of the whole people's sorrowing desertion than were the sun-rotting barrels and buckets near the unused wells of water.

Forty miles to the south there awaited in the silent desert the spot where these journeying troops would halt in their march, and striking permanent camp sojourn for a season. But the army would camp for the night on the dry plain across the River Jordan to the west of the city.

On and on the marching lines flowed heavily down the southern road, past the northern edge of the lovely sheet of water called Utah Lake. Around and around this lake the road ran, past its northern shores; past the chain of canyon defiles which opened at last into Cedar Valley, and down into the heart of that desert vale, where only the cricket and sagebrush gave evidence of animal or vegetable life. Here on the valley's one water course the army halted. They made their permanent quarters there and called their first Utah camp "Floyd" in honour of the then Secretary of War.

Here then the army of the United States was quartered, with the approval of the great and distant heads of the Government, and the disapproval of the surrounding banks of half-hungry and half-frightened Ute and Pauvan Indians; with the grudged consent of General Albert Sidney Johnston, and the silent acquiescence of the intrepid Mormon Leader, Brigham Young.

Thus the Echo Canyon War with its attendant excitement and confusion settled into lines of mingled misunderstanding and tolerance on both sides. The soldiers in Camp Floyd were more or less of a social danger to the young people who were attracted by the glitter of arms and epaulets, but youth is ever susceptible to the affectionate solicitude of age where that care is exercised with discretion and wisdom.

A few tragedies occurred, but they occur everywhere in all times. In the main, the soldiers were held in restraint by the care and honourable discipline of their superior officers.

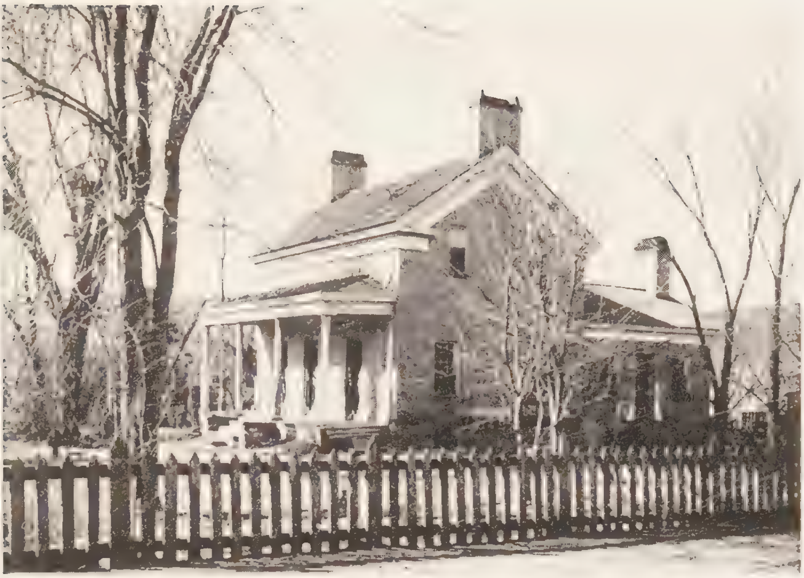
Bancroft, the historian, thus comments upon this unhappy event: "Once again Brigham Young had demonstrated his loyalty to his Government, his wisdom in the control of his own people and his supreme powers of leadership in spiritual and temporal affairs."

A council was called in Provo on July 4, 1858, of all the leaders of the Church. Camp Floyd was well established, General Johnston was taking up his quarters there, and homes and farms cried out in the deserted Salt Lake Valley for absentees. Governor Cumming was invited to this meeting, and with all the eloquence at his command he begged the Council to return to the city. He told them that he should publish a proclamation on the morrow to the Mormons for their return to their homes.

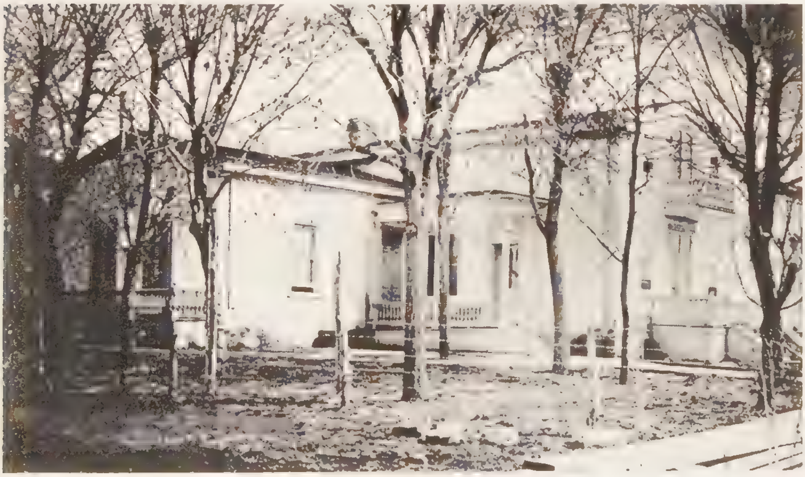
With a keen sense of the humour of the situation, Brigham Young replied with a quiet smile: "Do as you please, Governor Cumming. To-morrow I shall get upon my wagon-tongue and tell the people that I am going home, and that they can do as *they* please."

And he did! And they did!

In a few hours after his calm invitation nearly all the people were on their homeward way. During the summer the peo-



BRIGHAM YOUNG'S HOME, ST. GEORGE, SOUTHERN UTAH, WHERE HE OFTEN SPENT THE WINTER



THE WHITE HOUSE

ple returned to their homes in the city, and affairs quieted down to their usual unsteady measure. The Utah War was over.

The *New York Times,* in referring to this exodus of the people, said, "Whatever our opinions may be of Mormon morals or of Mormon manners, there can be no question that this voluntary and even cheerful abandonment by 40,000 people of homes created by wonderful industry, in the midst of trackless wastes, after years of hardship and persecution, is something from which no one who has a particle of sympathy with pluck, fortitude, and constancy can withhold his admiration. Right or wrong, sincerity thus attested is not a thing to be sneered at. True or false, a faith to which so many men and women prove their loyalty by such sacrifices, is a force in the world.

"After this last demonstration of what fanaticism can do, we think it would be most unwise to treat Mormonism as a nuisance to be abated by a *posse comitatus.* It is no longer a social excrescence to be cut off by the sword; it is a power to be combated by the most skilful, political and moral treatment. When the people abandon their homes to plunge with women and children into a wilderness, to seek new settlements they know not where, they give a higher proof of courage than if they fought for them. When the Dutch submerged Holland to save it from invaders, they had heartier plaudits showered on them than if they had fertilised its soil with their blood. We have certainly the satisfaction of knowing that we have to deal with foemen worthy of our steel."

Meanwhile storm clouds were rolling up heavily on the national horizon. North and south were at loggerheads with one another over the question of slavery which culminated in open rebellion and the outbreak of the civil war.

When the news of the rebellion reached the commanding officer at Camp Floyd that their country was now in real need of their services, preparations were at once made to abandon the camp. Goods and chattels were disposed of for travelling supplies at such riotous sacrifices that the peaceful people left behind were greatly enriched. As a token of respect Brigham Young was presented with the flagstaff from which the Stars and Stripes had flown in Camp Floyd. This was set up near the White House on the hill where "Mother" Young lived, and there it stood for many years, bearing aloft our country's emblem on all high days and holidays.

# XVIII

## PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY

Brigham Young's Efforts to Establish Communal Life or the United Order in Utah—First Introduced by the Prophet—Not a Communistic Order of Man, but Based on Service to God and the Community—Order Substituted by the Law of Tithing—Financial Strength of the Mormon People—Unification of Spiritual and Temporal Things—Co-operation Keynote of Successful Colonization—Early Efforts to Establish Co-operation Based on the Principle of the United Order—Establishment of Co-operative Stores—The Z.C.M.I.—The Social Reunions of the Church—A Practical Sociologist.

THE Latter Day Saints have made several attempts, more or less successful, to put communal life into successful operation. Nor are they discouraged because of past failures. Nations are founded, as are clans and communities, on the ideals of service and ordered life. But the waves of selfishness and domination do their work and the sands of time are beaten into ceaseless submission. Honour to the man or men who struggle sincerely and unselfishly to beat back the tides of cruelty and despotism, restoring, however stumblingly, the eternal foundations of human society upon the rocks of truth and Christlike service.

Among such pioneers were Saint Simon, François Fourier in France, and Robert Owen in England and America. The Shakers had the ideal of common property, while the Transcendentalists, in 1841–47, tried out a combined communistic and educational form of living. That their experiment failed does not dim the glory of their effort towards perfection. The rock upon which all these experiments split, and which is the cause of the failure to-day in Russia, China, and wherever such trials are made, is the inability of uninspired men to recognise the fact that no unity of social and economic life can persist as a sociological experiment only. No economic-social desire may eradicate the germs of selfishness seeded down in the sons of man. It is Christ alone who may give the supreme Magna Charta, and His Spirit only can draw out the ceaseless roar of selfishness upon the sands of human limitations. Economic and social success, for the whole group, must rest upon spiritual foundations.

The Prophet Joseph Smith sought to introduce an ideal form of communal life, through the revelations he had received in 1834, known as the United Order, or Order of Enoch. Enoch knew God and taught his people to hold earthly possessions as a common property; and, in this dedication, to lose self in the good of the community. The New Testament refers to the communal life of the early Christian Church: "All that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."

A very good start was made to establish the United Order in Kirtland, and later in Missouri. Men deeded their property to the presiding Bishop, with the proviso that it should be restored to them if they desired it, or if the Order was dissolved. Brigham Young gave all his property to aid his Prophet in this ideal form of group life in Kirtland. The mobbings and drivings which sent the people out of Ohio, then out of Missouri, and into Illinois, broke up the experiment.

"The Order of Enoch," as President Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet, once explained, "is not a communistic order after the manner of man, but a united order in which each man will be his own free agent. God will hold each man accountable for the use he makes of that agency and he will be rewarded according to the account which he renders. The Lord's plan is a righteous plan. The wise steward who is willing and industrious should not be made to sacrifice his time and substance to support the idle and shiftless."

Brigham Young, in commenting upon this last point said in one of his later discourses that the Order did not contemplate turning all the means gathered by the prudent into a common fund. Said he: "If we were to divide up our substance now equally amongst this people we would have to do it all over again in a year from now, for the thrifty and careful would have a surplus while the extravagant and shiftless would be without hope and in debt. For," he added, jocularly, "you remember what Bishop Hunter used to say, 'there are the Lord's poor and the devil's poor and the poor devils, and we have all three kinds in this Church.' "

As a matter of history, the Prophet's whole life and labour was guided and founded on this principle of equity and justice. The poor were always with him, in his heart and at his hearthstone. But his broken life and crowded hours left little time for business details. Human nature changes slowly, and the weak leaned heavily upon him, and some of the strong imposed upon him. Finally, in Nauvoo, the law of tithing, the giving of one tenth of one's income, was substituted for the United Order, for the Lord gave Joseph permission to institute an easier economic "school-master" to lead the people to Christ and later to His perfect plan of communal or family association.

The Prophet received the revelation on tithing in 1838, six years after he had given up the establishment of the higher law of "consecration" because the people were not ready for it. The law of tithing was practical, simple and more or less easy to follow: a tenth part of one's income annually belongs to the Lord. The funds so collected were and are administered by the leading Councils for the support of the poor, the building of meeting-houses and temples, the founding and carrying on of missions, for education, and for such other public enterprises as the drivings, mobbings and final colonising schemes necessitated by the changing conditions of the saints.

There was and is a great mellowing force to this law as exercised in the Church; it is voluntary; it is obeyed by priest and people alike; it is not used to support a ministry, and an annual report with careful audit of expenditures of all funds is given in the wards and in the General Conferences to those who contribute to the fund. Brigham Young carried on this practical substitute for the United Order all through his own administration. Nor did he propose to be exempt from it.

Men wonder at the financial strength of this unusual people. Their success may be explained by the fact that "there is no dividing line between the temporal and spiritual interests of this Church and its people." If it is wise to unify spiritual things it is equally wise to combine temporal matters. The spiritual strength of the Church lies in the balance delicately held between the good of the individual and the welfare of the whole people. This is assured by the doctrine of "common consent," upon which all priestly responsibility rests. The president and each officer, priest, and policy in the Church function only by and through the united voice of the people. The Church rises or falls as a body, not as a code of laws or as a presiding class.

No other religion, as far as is known, undertakes the oversight and practical care of its members as does the Mormon Church. The Church functioning through the Bishops, is responsible for the temporal welfare of its members. Brigham Young recognised the vital strength of this semi-spiritual, semi-practical arm of Church government in the wisest possible way—by non-interference, except in individual cases, and always as chief counsellor and father of the Church.

The colonisation of Utah and the surrounding states and territories by men and women of diverse education, tastes, outlook, thought, temperament and nationality was successful because it had spiritual cohesion as well as being communal in form and in spirit. The building of stockades and forts, the planning and laying out of cities, digging canals and erecting bridges, schools and meeting-houses, were co-operative enterprises in the truest sense of the term. These mighty efforts of a struggling community were successful because they were strung together on the silver cord of the Gospel of Christ through the golden bowl of common contributions for common interests.

Knowing men as he did, the Leader understood that an economic and sociological form of communal life would be impossible without a foundation, built, not alone on racial unity, vital as that is; not only compounded of equality of economic and intellectual forces, with no rich and no poor, no egoistic cultured class, nor egoistic, ignorant, lower strata; but all of these human elements fused and cemented together by a common religious impulse that would prevent friction and final chaos. He understood perfectly that a permanent conquest of the desert wastes would be impossible without an economic and spiritual union of the people.

One of the chief interests to occupy his attention in the middle and later years of his life was the establishment of co-operation as an economic practice, looking towards a future United Order, with the underlying social equality begotten of that principle when founded on an equal spiritual and temporal basis. He greatly desired to develop that co-operative effect into the divinely ordained communion practised by the early Christians and by the Nephites—(those ancient people who, according to the Book of Mormon, were the early inhabitants of the American continent) after the Saviour's ministry among them.

The people of Utah had built up their commonwealth on the principle of communal unity. With the advent of the railway and the influx of non-Mormons it seemed to the leaders imperative that a formal organisation of economic interests was necessary, so that the common problems of daily life might be met in a common council and solved practically as a whole rather than by each individual member alone and unguided.

"This co-operative movement," said Brigham Young, "is only a stepping-stone to what is called the Order of Enoch, but which in reality is the Order of Heaven. . . . If we would work together in our farming, in our mechanism, be obedient and work as a family for the good of all, it would be almost impossible for anyone to guess the success we would have. But we have got to do it in the Lord, always ready and willing that He should have it all, to do with it as He pleases. I have asked a favour of the Lord in this thing, and that is not to place me in such circumstances that what he has given me shall go into the hands of our enemies. But let it go for the preaching of the Gospel, to sustain and to gather the poor, to build factories, make farms, and set the poor to work, as I have hundreds and thousands that had not anything to do. I have fed and clothed them and taken care of them until they have become comparatively independent. I have made no man poor, but thousands and thousands rich; that is, the Lord has through me.

"We see servants that labour early and late and have hardly enough clothing to go to meetings in on the Sabbath. I have seen many cases of this kind in Europe, when the young lady would have to take her clothing on a Saturday night and wash it, in order that she might go to the meeting on the Sunday with a clean dress on. Who is she labouring for? For those who, many of them, are living in luxury. And to serve the classes that are living on them, the poor labouring men and women are toiling, working their lives out to earn that which will keep a little life within them. Is this equality? No. What is going to be done? The Latter Day Saints will never accomplish their mission until this inequality shall cease on earth."

Up and down the territory went Brigham Young preaching the United Order, urging the people to form close-knit community enterprises. In some cases, great success was attained in this movement. Whole villages opened community halls where food was prepared by the house-wives in rotation;

men entered into united ownership of farms, mills, stores and other civic activities. Naturally men and women carried with them into this experiment their limitations, yet a measure of success attended each venture.

In Brigham City, Lorenzo Snow organised a broad co-operative movement based on the principle of the United Order. There was a co-operative store, with five dollar shares to which the people responded liberally. A tannery was built at a cost of $10,000, the people paying for the stock in labour. Then came a $40,000 woollen factory, followed by a sheep-herd, a dairy and a co-operative farm. There were between thirty and forty departments, all working unitedly together. The Brigham City report for 1875 stated there were 500 stock-holders and a capital of $140,000. Other similar enterprises were operated in Orderville, near Kanab, and elsewhere. Men found expenses light, labour evenly distributed and undesirable classification of toil eliminated, whether by the artisan or the scholar; while women enjoyed long recesses from active kitchen work and made profitable use of the liberty thus enjoyed.

Brigham Young's family lived in the principle of the United Order, to a certain extent. Each wife received exactly the same as all the others; each child had exactly the same amount of clothing, toys and schooling. There was no chance for favouritism in the administration of substance or recreation. What one had all the others came into possession of automatically. Naturally this made for practical harmony of results. Chances for contention and jealousy were eliminated in a large measure and the results have made for a family sense of poise and justice not excelled anywhere in the Church.

Though a large number of the saints entered into this exalted economic order, which was successful for some years, it was finally abandoned, due to human weakness, selfishness and the inability to properly organise the movement or hold it together after the death of those who were responsible for its inception.

A most interesting and far-reaching experiment in practical sociology was the Perpetual Emigration Fund, spoken of elsewhere in these pages. By its means, thousands of people were permitted to seek new homes, that had been impossible otherwise.

The foundational arts of agriculture with its associate trades of carpentering, blacksmithing, shoe-making, etc., were now to enlarge; for the hum of machinery, the stir of Yankee inventiveness was abroad in the land. The merchant, the trader, the middle-man, were entering into Utah's sylvan retreats and the railway was sweeping across the continent. Shem had built his tents; Japheth was ready to enter in and take advantage of the fruits of his brothers' hard pioneering struggles. The territory was filling up with non-Mormon merchants, and indeed with non-Mormon residents. The silver mines were opening up and the new territory was a fertile field for shrewd money-makers.

These non-Mormon merchants and residents were welcomed, for Brigham Young's belief and practice always was to live and to let live. He found, however, that local merchants were running up prices, and the people were paying altogether too much for everything they needed. As he was always interested in the cause of the people, he suggested and carried forward an enterprise to equalise prices and to enable the people themselves to control their own markets. Out of this desire and these efforts grew the co-operative stores all over the Church, the parent one operating in Salt Lake City, the Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution. It taught the people unity of interest and honesty of development. The Z.C.M.I. stands to-day as a monument to the business integrity of the Mormon Church. No cut-throat competition methods, no price-corners, just solid, substantial growth has marked its history. It has steadily kept the ideal of "justice to all" in its long and brilliant financial history. It is now one of the leading mercantile establishments of western America.

Like all other enterprises—banks, building societies and the like—the credit of these Mormon business concerns is and always has been gilt-edged in every city of the Union. So also is the financial rating of the great majority of the Church membership, as good if not better than any class of citizens in the United States.

One of the unique sociological features of the community life established by the Prophet Joseph Smith was the systematised religious and social re-unions provided for in Stake and General Conferences. The annual Ward Conference, the Quarterly "Stake" Conference and the semi-annual General Conference of the entire Church bring the people together, first in ward units, then all the wards gather at the central "Stake" point, while the whole people convene in Salt Lake City semi-annually to attend the three days' Conference. This re-union is a semi-annual week's jubilee, punctuated with visiting, with concerts, missionary re-unions, fairs and parties. It is a modernised Hebrew festival of the Passover when all Judea gathered up to Jerusalem. Estimate, if you can, the constant stimulation of spiritual, social and economic life engendered through this wise provision. Farms and herds, stores and mills, schools and homes, pour out their tens of thousands to be fed on the Bread of Life by inspired leaders, to hear the exquisite music of choir and great organ, to renew friendship's ties, to open new visions of civic, social and economic problems which would leave the people dormant and stale but for these frequent inspirational human contacts.

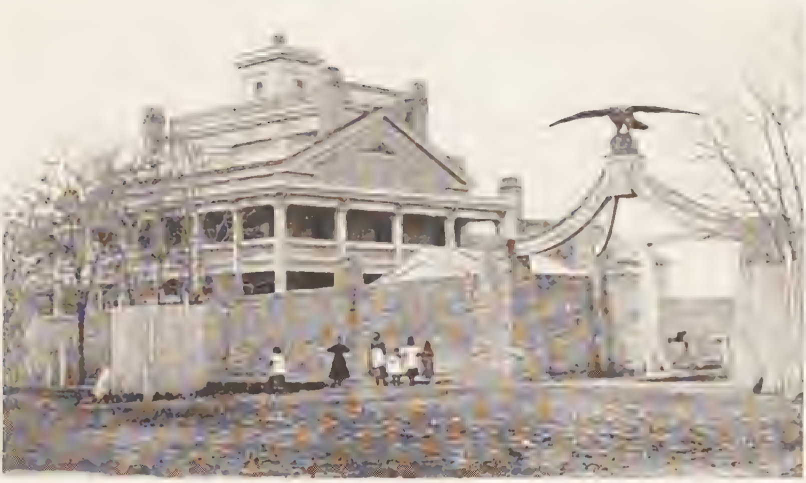
The dynamic power of Brigham Young was never more evident than in the assembling of all the forces of the people, human and physical, spreading them out, during more than a quarter of a century, 1847–1877, in colonies and missions over the world. Worship, work and recreation in suitable proportions, were his watchwords. The people were few, but they were a practical unit in industrial and economic endeavours and all were and are workers. It should always be remembered that Mormonism appeals only to men and women of sound principle who realise that *work* and *worship* spring from the same root-ideal.

Labour was dignified and work was and is an integral part of the religion of the Latter Day Saints. "Faith without works is dead," and "No man can be saved in idleness," were frequently quoted—the work which involved obedience to all laws both spiritual and temporal—so that his constant efforts were focused on the development of industrial as well as spiritual activity.

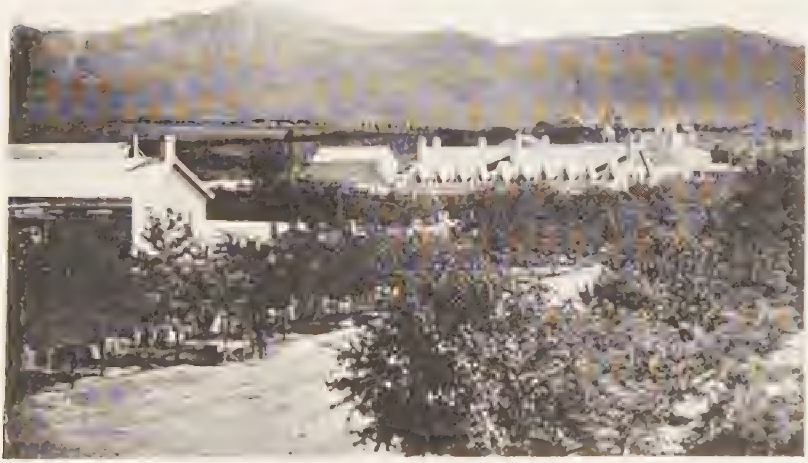
Brigham Young was a practical economist. He worked as his own carpenter in the building of his house and the temple in Kirtland and Nauvoo, and in his first few Utah homes. He regarded labour as a righteous duty. "The idler should not eat the bread of the labourer," he always said. Prayer and temple service were no more obligatory upon himself or his people than was the necessity for daily toil. He had little sympathy with the sectarian view of ignoring the problems of daily life and focusing all hope and faith on eternal things. Heaven was and would be on the earth, as earth was and is a part of God's eternity. Man must learn how to make a heaven on this earth or it would be impossible to attain heaven hereafter.

No man had saner views, clearer ideas on labour, nor expressed them in more vigorous language than did Brigham Young. His first gubernatorial message to the legislature of the newly organised Territory of Utah, is a marvel in its statesmanlike grasp of his country's need.

"We must learn to support ourselves," he declared. "I am under obligation to take a course which will sustain life within myself and others on rational principles, without any special manifestation from God. I have tried continually to get this people to pursue a course that will make them self-sustaining, taking care of their poor, the lame, the deaf and the blind,



THE BEE HIVE AND EAGLE GATE, 1875



THE LION HOUSE AND BEE HIVE HOUSE, 1880

lifting the ignorant from where they have no opportunity of observing the ways of the world, and of understanding the common knowledge possessed among the children of men, bringing them together from the four quarters of the world and making them an intelligent, thrifty and self-supporting people.

"My concern is, and has been for years, to get the people to understand that if they do not take care of themselves they will not be taken care of; that if we do not lay the foundation to feed and clothe and shelter ourselves we shall perish with hunger and with cold.

"The Lord has done His share in the work; He has surrounded us with the elements containing wheat, meat, flax, wool, silk, fruit, and everything with which to build up, beautify and glorify the Zion of the last days, and it is our business to mould these elements to our wants and necessities, according to the knowledge we now have and the wisdom we can obtain from the heavens through our faithfulness. In this way will the Lord bring again Zion upon the earth and in no other way."

His was a master mind indeed! But one of his greatest contributions to his age was making the theories of useful happy life fit into the realities of daily existence.

# XIX

## INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE

Solving the Employment Question—The Public Works—Gives Up Manual Labour—Farm and Fruit Gardens—When the Crops Failed—Grasshopper Plagues—Personal Industries—Saw Mills and Flour Mills—Experiments in Cotton Growing—Attempt to Produce Beet Sugar—Seeds from Europe and Machinery from England—Making the Community Independent—Varied Industries Established—The Transcontinental Telegraph—Mormons Establish their Own Lines— The Coming of the Railway—Assists in Building the Line—Ogden and Not Salt Lake City the Utah Terminus—Mormons Connect their Capital with the Main Line—Search for Gold and Silver Denounced—Mining—Development of Useful Metals Encouraged—Mint Established—Women in Industry —Independence Fostered.

In those early pioneering days, people from all parts of the United States, as well as from the northern countries of Europe, poured into the desert valleys of Utah by the thousands every year. They represented all sorts and conditions, were of various religious beliefs and of many different trades.

Of the 17,185 emigrants from Europe between 1840 and 1854, fifteen thousand were Britons. Over three hundred trades and occupations were represented; of these, accountants, blacksmiths, butchers, candlemakers, cabinet-makers, farmers, harness-makers, carpenters, ironfounders, labourers, millers, paper-makers, sugar-boilers, weavers, wool-combers, tailors, masons, nail-makers and basket-makers predominated.

There were no openings for sail-makers, gas-fitters, rubber-workers or workers in other occupations, needless in an inland, pioneer country. These had either to learn new trades or take up farming or stock raising. Then there were workers in iron, wool, cotton and other useful trades, and these were instrumental in building up these industries in the new country. But it was necessary to have some bureau organised whereby the job may seek the man and where the man may find his job. Indeed, is that not the greatest need in the industrial world to-day?

These early stalwart state-builders, led by the master-builder, Brigham Young, with no scientific, economic training save that of stern necessity, foresaw the need and devised the instrument. A bureau was organised called the "Public Works." This economic experiment was probably one of the first industrial-economic experiments of modern times. The project began with the establishment of a series of shops of divers trades inside the Temple grounds. There was a carpenter shop, machine shop, paint shop, and many others, each presided over by a capable leader. Later they were removed to the tithing office block where they functioned during all the early years of state building. Branch establishments were also set up in other sections of the country. The presiding Bishop of the Church had general charge over all activities going forward in the "Public Works," but the details of the management were turned over to the one general superintendent and by him to superintendents of the different branches.

It was easy to supply work as the Temple and Tabernacle were in course of construction, as were also the Council House, the Social Hall, the Salt Lake City Theatre and many other public buildings. In addition, there were the building of bridges and the digging of canals and the erection of forts. The "Public Works" became a general clearing house for all who were seeking work. As soon as the workers became accustomed to American ways and conditions they branched out for themselves and established businesses of their own.

The far-reaching influence of this Mormon bureau of industry cannot be computed in words or figures. As long as Brigham Young lived, and indeed long after his death, the economic stability imparted by this unique community enterprise is beyond the computation of our human balances.

It would be natural to assume that the promoter of all these industrial and agricultural movements would himself lead out in the practical application of the principles he advocated. With his peculiar temperament as expressed in his terse words he always said: "Come, boys," never "Go, boys." He was a hard-working man, and a correspondent in the Valley wrote in August, 1854, that he could be seen all day and every day chopping wood, working in his garden, building houses, etc. When the labour of his office became so onerous that it consumed all his time, he gave up manual labour as such, but with much reluctance.

The story is told that he was busily engaged in house-building for his family, when his beloved friend and counsellor, Jedediah M. Grant, came to ask some counsel regarding public matters. He found the President of the Church and Governor of the Territory on the roof shingling.

"Brother Brigham, I want to ask you about an important matter."

"Well," replied the President-Governor, "wait until this evening and come into my council room."

"Now, Brother Brigham, don't you think it is time you quit pounding nails and spending your time in work like this? We have many carpenters but only one Governor and one President of the Church. The people need you more than they need a good carpenter."

The story goes that the Leader dropped his hammer and nails, came down off the roof and never again, except at brief intervals, spent his days in manual labour. He travelled and counselled, projected industry, watched over emigration, considered the claims of the people and gave himself heart and soul to the ministration to which he had been called and appointed. But he loved the honest labour of hand as well as brain and always honoured those who toiled to make life a joyous reality.

Horticulture was an obsession with Brigham Young. A natural vegetarian, his mind reached out to provide the loveliness of cultivated flower and shrub, the luxury of superior fruit and vegetable and the health-providing necessity of the best to be found in the grains which are "for the use of man." He did not know, till experience taught him, that the irrigated garden and field gave up Nature's best gifts in temperate climates. But he was soon to find that out. And many of his practical sermons dwelt upon the vital necessity of applied irrigation.

He was also a lover of animals; in that he also wanted the best to be had, and he was aware that the best horse, the finest cow paid in increased economic production. Not a man or woman of all his associates but shared this viewpoint. As a consequence the markets of the world were searched by missionaries for improvements in every line of horticulture and animal husbandry. Dairy products were a domestic art, while cleanliness and sanitary regulations won as much favourable comment at the local fairs, which were a feature even in those early days, as did superior grains and pure-bred cows.

All fruits of the temperate zones grow to unusual size and flavour in Utah. The soil is of the best, irrigation gives to the husbandman control of its water content, while early and late frosts are kept off, as a rule, through mountain protection. So luscious are the fruits and vegetables that to-day producers from other states buy the output of Utah fruit and in the canning, label them with their own state brands. The extreme southern part of the territory, because of its being much lower in altitude than any other part of the state, is adapted to the production of many semi-tropical and some tropical fruits and crops. Figs, almonds and cotton were planted in 1862 in "Dixie" so-called, and still thrive there.

Not all was sunshine, however, in the early struggles of this valiant people so far from the confines of civilisation. Many years the crops were a failure from one cause or another and often the people were on short rations. A potent cause of crop failure and the slowing up of all home industry was the occasional cricket, or grasshopper plague, especially that of 1856. Other similar visitations occasionally afflicted the people before and after that date, but the one of 1856 was especially severe.

"All the farms south of this city (Tooele) are nearly a desert," says a report at that time. "Myriads of grasshoppers, like snowflakes in a storm, occasionally fill the air over the city as far as the eye can reach, and when they alight on any green patch all signs of vegetation quickly disappear. Two-thirds of the grain has been destroyed and a large black bug is devouring the potatoes. There will be no beets this year and very few onions, the grasshoppers having eaten them as fast as they appeared above ground."

As one might expect, saw mills and flour mills were early established. In later years and in other parts of the city and territory were founded silk and woollen mills, a sugar factory, paper mills and many others. The saw mill in City Creek Canyon furnished lumber for homes, sawdust for pioneer icehouses, while an adjoining carpenter's shop made up the timber into furniture and supplied little girls with shaving curls when carpenter Higgs was not too busy to roll them up from a convenient board.

Until the establishment of woollen mills in the early "fifties," cloth was woven on hand looms in the homes of the settlers. Women's flying fingers sent the shuttle back and forth across the wooden frames, in and out of warp, carrying the woollen woof in the hand-made spindle, making their patterns as they would, they having coloured and spun the wool which now they wove into good and honest cloth. In 1851 Brigham Young reported that his family had woven five hundred yards of cloth.

In the very early days of Utah history cotton was successfully cultivated in the southern section of the state and cotton mills established. For some years the venture proved a financial success. This is all the more remarkable when the difficulties experienced are remembered. Many of them had never cultivated cotton; they were unacquainted with the climate and consequently did not know the proper season for planting, nor the nature of the soil, nor how the plant should be watered. It was a daring experiment.

Amongst the necessary foods of which the pioneers felt the lack and decided that they must supply themselves, was sugar. Their first efforts were necessarily primitive. They first used as sweetener a syrup made from the juice of pressed green cane stalks. But Brigham Young was anxious to make a sugar from beets as was then being done in France, Belgium and Germany. The sugar cane thrives only in semi-tropical countries, whereas the sugar beet could be cultivated in temperate zones. But it was a very new thing at that time in the United States.

So beet seeds were purchased in France and the necessary machinery in England. Apostle John Taylor obtained the seeds, five hundred bushels of them, while he was on a mission in France in 1851–52. He also secured $12,500 worth of machinery in England and this was sent out to Salt Lake City, no light or inexpensive task in those days, seeing that the cost of ordinary freight was $250 a ton. A train of fifty-two ox-drawn wagons were requisitioned to haul the heavy machinery across the thousand mile desert.

One machine was set up on Temple Block, and here the first trial at making sugar was accomplished, and fairly successful it proved. Later the plant was removed to a building of its own. Meanwhile another plant had been established at Provo, where a special building was erected to house it. All told, $100,000 was spent in the effort to make the industry successful, and considering the many difficulties experienced it was measurably so for a time.

But the attempt to manufacture sugar in the Valley had to be temporarily abandoned. Various causes hindered its ultimate development. First and last there was a great deal of alkali in the syrup and no one had sufficient chemical knowledge to overcome this difficulty. Then came the Echo Canyon War which paralysed all industries for a period of several years. Sugar manufactured in the East began coming into Utah in great quantities. The only really successful output from the Utah factories was molasses. Sugar was considered superior to molasses for sweetening purposes by the housewives who largely control trade; more is the pity for health's sake. Molasses contains the precious mineral salts which are so necessary in bodily well-being and which are absolutely deficient in refined sugar. Later, however, the sugar beet was destined to come into its own and to-day it is one of the principal agricultural products of this people.

The machinery in Salt Lake City which had been set up for making beet sugar was subsequently converted and used for paper-making. The paper, and a very good grade at that, was made by pounding old rags and waste paper into pulp and sifting it through a sieve; it was also made from wood pulp.

The necessity for tanneries and commercialised leather products was one of the first problems met by the pioneers. It was found that the valley abounded in sumach, and the squaw-bush bark was almost as good as a tanning preparation. Hides were plentiful and among the first manufactures established were tanneries with associated boot and shoe shops. In the advertisements of those days we read how the tanners asked the saw mills to save all bark and the hunters to provide them with wolf hides.

Many other home industries were founded, for Brigham Young was determined to make his people independent of outside supplies. A traveller visiting Utah in 1856, only nine years after the founding of the commonwealth, gives this picture of early conditions:

"The manufacturers of Salt Lake City, considering how recently it has been founded, and its great distance from where many tools and raw material have to be obtained, are highly praiseworthy. In addition to the manufacture of flour and lumber, the ordinary avocations of shoe-making, tailoring, blacksmithing in all its branches, and building, there are several tanneries; brush, comb, woollen and hat and cap manufactories, cooperages, cabinet and wood turner's shops; chair-makers, watch-makers, jewellers, whip-makers, etc., a paper manufactory, a carriage and wagon manufactory; a pottery and a saddlery, all doing regular business.

"Besides these, there are machine and workshops on Temple Block, both owned by the Church. There is a foundry, the fire of which is blown by heavy machinery, and which turns out excellent castings; a blacksmith's shop, in which seven fires are constantly in blow; a stone-cutting shop; a paint shop; a modelling shop; and a machine shop in which flanges, wheels, cranks, gudgeons, and machinery are manufactured. Cutlery, consisting of Congress knives, swords, spears and pruning hooks, and saws and fine locks equal to any imported, have quite recently been produced in the same establishment, which altogether is said to be inferior to none in the United States or Europe. The city abounds with excellent mechanics from many parts of the world, which, with the great self-reliance of the people, and a sturdy encouragement of home-made goods, will ere long develop the arts and manufactures in a high degree." Other early industries which were established included the manufacture of paints, pottery, hardware, brooms, and a host of others.

The United States telegraph line from ocean to ocean, was completed in 1861, and included Utah in that continent-spanning communication. But this line cut directly through the State. If Utah wanted more and better service she must provide it for her citizens. She could, and she did! The telegraph as an aid to human intercourse, was early recognised by Brigham Young and he set out to introduce it into Utah. As early as 1861 he had resolved to connect all the settlements with a home telegraphic system. He issued a call in 1865 for a convention to consider erecting this home telegraph-line. The people met *en masse* on April 10, 1865, and voted unanimously to construct a line from St. George on the south to Idaho on the north. As it was set up from point to point, offices were opened. It was completed in a year's time, and the people enjoyed local telegraphic communication. This was entirely a communal project, Utah men doing the work and holding the stock; and not until recent years was the line swallowed up in the general telegraphic systems.

Then came the railway, nearly a quarter of a century after the settlement in 1847. The linking up of Utah with the outside world by steel rails was a favourite dream of Brigham Young. While on the uncharted plains coming from the Missouri River to the Rockies on that great pioneer trek, he had carefully routed the line of their travel along the north bank of the Platte River instead of the southern route, broken by the Oregon pioneers, with the thought in mind, partly, of a possible future railway line. He once remarked, "We never went through the canyons or worked our way over the dividing ridges without asking where the rails could be laid."

As early as 1851–52 memorials were sent to Congress praying for the construction of a national central railway and also a telegraph line from the Missouri River via Salt Lake City to the Pacific. In 1852 a small mountain railway line was built and used for hauling stone from Little Cottonwood Canyon to the Temple Block, where the Temple was being erected.

The transcontinental line, however, did not come until 1869. Brigham Young himself took large contracts to build this railway. He persuaded his friends and associates to follow his example. It was a great struggle, for the people were poor and could only help through their labour and land. Nevertheless the Utah contractors faithfully executed all their agreements, and railway and government officials gratefully acknowledged that nowhere on the line could the grading compare in completeness and finish with the work done by the Utah people. Those who followed Brigham Young's advice and honest example both enriched themselves and benefited the country when the line was finally built.

Ogden, however, was chosen by the Eastern capitalists as the Utah terminal in spite of the protests of the Utah people and the fact that Salt Lake City was not only the largest city in the State but recognised as the capital. The city, however, was not to be denied. When it was first known that Ogden was the chosen terminal Brigham Young remarked: "If the company should deem it to their advantage to leave us out in the cold we will not be so far off but we can have a branch line for the advantage of this city."

On the very day that the last spike was driven at Ogden, he organised a company, known as the Utah Central Railway, to construct a branch line from Salt Lake City to Ogden. Ground was broken at Ogden on May 17, 1869, Brigham Young removing the first sod, while the last spike was driven by him at Salt Lake City on January 10, 1870. This railway, like the Deseret telegraph line, was built and owned by the people. It was said to be "the only railway west of the Mississippi built entirely without government subsidies."

The Leader was very loath to see the people rush off to the gold fields for "filthy lucre" only, when there was an empire waiting for their hands to create. Listen to his good "homely" advice: "Instead of hunting gold, let every man go to work at raising wheat, oats, barley, corn and vegetables, and fruit in abundance, that there may be plenty in the land. Raise sheep and produce the finest quality of wool in large quantities. By the migratory system of feeding sheep in this country they will be healthy and produce large clips of wool. In these pursuits are the true sources of wealth, and we have as much capital in these mountains to begin with as any people in the world, according to the number of our community. Real capital consists in knowledge and physical strength."

While Brigham Young denounced the rush to the California gold-mines in the early days of Utah's history, he nevertheless recognised the need of producing essential metals and minerals for the successful development of a rising community, such as coal, iron, sulphur, salt, tin, lead, etc. But silver and gold, easily mined, elusive on discovery, enriching a few on a mere chance, while impoverishing the mass of eager searchers, this part of mining, always so uncertain, so productive of human waste in its pursuits, and as a rule, so unsettling and degenerating in its rare successes, was to his plain practical mind a delusion and a snare.

"We are not anxious to obtain gold," he said on one occasion. "If we can obtain it by raising potatoes and wheat, all right. Can't you make yourselves rich by speculating? We do not wish to. Can't you make yourselves rich by going to the gold mines? We are right in the midst of them. Why don't you dig the gold from the earth? Because it demoralises any community or nation on the earth to give them gold and silver to their heart's content; it will ruin any nation. But give them iron and coal, good hard work, plenty to eat, good schools and good doctrines, and it will make them a healthy, wealthy, and happy people."

Rich beds of ore were known to exist in Utah, and some attempts were made to open and work them during the five years preceding the completion of the transcontinental railway, but the conditions were not favourable and little was accomplished. On the completion of the railway, however, attention was recalled to the existence of the ore and within eighteen months the streets of Salt Lake City were thronged with wagons and teams bringing ore from almost every point of the compass and from camps twenty to two hundred miles

A TYPICAL AVENUE IN SALT LAKE CITY

THE CAPITOL, SALT LAKE CITY

distant. Rude mining camps were gradually growing into towns; mills, sampling works, and smelters, began to appear as if by magic. There is not a county in the Territory where mines have not been located and mining districts organised. A recent map of Utah shows eighty of these new mining districts, covering more than a million acres.

While Brigham Young encouraged, with his means and by his influence, every species of mining save the search for gold and silver, he did not oppose those outside the Church seeking these precious metals. The gold and silver mines of Utah were developed, it might be said, in spite of him, not because of him. He dreaded the influx of miners and the life of mining camps for the youth of Zion, for he knew that the search for gold had its demoralising influence. Was that narrow? If so, it was the narrowness of Him who said "Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." Gold and silver, wealth and power —all these are valuable to man only as he uses them to bless his fellow men.

In 1848–49 a mint was set up in Salt Lake City. Here the people made their own coins. They were then thousands of miles from civilisation, with virtually no medium of local exchange. Gold dust from California, however, was available in the territory, and the mint was operated, converting the dust into gold pieces ranging in value from $2.50 to $20.00

The Leader was exceedingly anxious that the people should become independent of their neighbours a thousand miles on each side of them. According to the United States Census returns for the year 1850 the population of the valley of the Great Salt Lake mustered 11,354, of whom about 53 per cent. were males. There were 6,000 residents in Salt Lake City. There were 16,333 acres under cultivation on which were raised 128,711 bushels of grain. The value of livestock was estimated at $546,600, and of farming implements at $84,-

290. And this only three years after the people had settled on what was thought to be an irredeemable desert!

After five years had elapsed from the day the pioneer band entered the valley of Great Salt Lake, the settlers found themselves amidst plenty and comfort in the land of promise, where until their arrival scarce a human being was to be seen save the Indians whose clothing was the skins of rabbits and whose food was roasted crickets! There was no destitution in their midst; there was little sickness.

Women were not forgotten in this constructive economic programme. They were urged by their Leader to engage in any and all pursuits for which their gifts fitted them. In agricultural pursuits, also, they were encouraged:

"Tell your husbands to get you a heifer calf or two, and some chickens, and feed and take care of them, instead of pigs; and if your husbands have springs on their land, get them to clean them out and dam them up a little, and introduce the spawn of the best fish we have in these mountains, and collect all the information that has been printed, and which comes within your reach on the subject of raising fish. And raise your potatoes and parsnips and carrots for feeding them with, adding a little corn meal, or a little oatmeal. We can raise fish here and the cost will be one-fourth less per pound than other meats. You may think that fowls are injurious to the garden; but they are not. They will pick up grubs and worms and other destructive insects, and the good they do in this respect will far over-balance any trifling injury they may do to your plants. They will keep your gardens clean of these pests and fatten, giving you plenty of eggs to eat. Take care of them, and get a little patch of lucerne planted to give your heifer, and rear her until she gives you her increase. This is for you young women who want to get husbands. Tell the young men that you will sustain yourselves and teach them how to sustain themselves if they do not know how, if they will only come and marry you.

Now, girls, court up the boys, it is leap year. Give them to understand in some way that it is all right. You are ready, and you want to help them to make a good home, to form a nucleus around which to gather the blessings and comforts of life, a place to rally to."

In such manner did he prove himself a master in all phases of normal human activity, foreshadowing the economic as well as civic independence of woman, making her an intelligent partner in all man's righteous endeavour.

Brigham Young abominated idleness and when he saw able-bodied men doing nothing, he did not hesitate to suggest some good constructive work. Noticing a large group of men hanging around the outside of the crowded Council House day after day he sent someone to take their names and despatched them to various settlements or sent them where they might perform some useful mission for the Church.

The industries founded by the pioneers were all of them profitable to those who took part therein as well as to those who received the benefits thereof. Labour of hand and brain, skilled or unskillled, was honoured of Brigham Young, because himself a labourer, he knew the value of honest toil. The industries which made Utah a busy hive of contented workmen, were blest of God and man. The instruction and promise given to Adam, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" was made glorious through knowledge of its profound meaning, and its application to daily life.

# XX

## ARCHITECTURE AND TEMPLE BUILDING

Love of the Beautiful—A Natural Architect—Encouragement of the Fine Arts—House Building—Harmony and Comfort—Care for Detail—Old and New Tabernacles—Its Great Elliptical Roof—Social Hall—Salt Lake City Theatre—Temple Building—Salt Lake City Temple—"Build for Eternity"—The St. George Temple—Dedication of Sites for Other Temples.

THE love of the beautiful and the endeavour to express—by means of brush, pencil, or chisel—that emotional response to colour, form and line is given to all created beings. Brigham Young felt this response, but had little time to cultivate it.

Nor must it be forgotten that all forms of art in America—literature, painting, sculpture and music—were provincial before the Revolution. Indeed, long after that struggle there was little that was original or that marked America as a nation of culture. There were boundaries to settle, both with neighbouring nations, and within the new country. There were trade questions to adjudicate and Indian wars constantly arising in one or more sections of the country. Above all, between the New England and Dutch Puritans, the French Catholics of the south and the various Protestant sects of the incoming immigration, there were questions of religious tolerance and religious bigotry which absorbed all minds.

The story of art culture in the first half of the nineteenth century in America in music, in painting, and even in literature is the story of various individuals who felt the power to express beauty, but who were obliged to cross the seas to obtain the training and environment so necessary for the full development of any of the higher powers. These brought back a transplanted culture from which nothing distinctively American emerged for a full century.

Indeed, it may be said truthfully that few great Americans, state builders and history makers, gave such private and public encouragement to the fine arts as was so freely and generously accorded by Brigham Young. He was himself of an artistic nature. All his early activities as house-builder, furniture maker, and painter prove as clearly as do his later architectural masterpieces, his instincts for harmony of line, form and colour. He was an architect of great natural power; but that applied domestic art which he had acquired in early life had to satisfy his natural craving for architectural beauty.

He had been trained as a carpenter and a cabinet maker and became a master builder before joining the Church. His love for architecture followed him wherever his footsteps wandered in his earlier ministry. His own New England Colonial inhibitions were broadened and beautified when he saw some of the charming halls and homes of Philadelphia and Washington, the Dutch styles of New York, the French charm expressed in cathedral and fort in Canada. Then came his English mission and he was privileged to absorb through eye and brain the examples of church architecture left there by the master artist, Christopher Wren, and his famous co-artists and followers.

In Nauvoo, Brigham Young's house reflected, not his English nor his colonial acquired tastes but revealed a suggestion of Dutch predilection with the gabled-end entrance and serrated front façade. Evidently the result did not appeal to his New England tastes, for never again did he attempt to perpetuate that form of architecture.

When the pioneer Leader first looked down upon the valley of the Great Salt Lake he had a vision of a city, tree-embowered and home-beautified, crowned with a lofty-spired, simple and stately temple, which filled his heart with promise and overflowed his soul with harmony. But homes must be built, trees and fields planted before great architectural structures could be reared.

If the old definition is true, that art is what we feel and science is what we do, Brigham Young was both artist and scientist. He surveyed his prospects, investigated his physical forces and immediately planned his great pioneering campaign. He had found great wealth of timber and clay suitable for bricks in all his Eastern building operations. A cursory exploration of Utah proved to him there were no timbered lands and forests except in the mountain fastnesses, while the scarcity of suitable kilns turned his attention to the necessity of using "adobe," as the Spaniards called the unburned bricks used in Mexico and in the few Catholic missions found on the California coast. So that the unsplit temporary log house plans were soon set aside and really commodious homes were built of adobes with the pioneer extravagance of plenty of windows. School-houses and meeting-houses, the two often combined, were built as soon as a dozen homes clustered anywhere in a valley. Women and children must needs be made comfortable if men were to be kept happy and contented.

The house building of Brigham Young in Auburn, in Mendon and thereabouts, conformed to the established Colonial patterns. Historians have traced with much interest the evidences of his artistic and dependable workmanship in furniture-making and home-building.

In the great clear spaces of Utah there was small need of the long sloping roofs demanded where houses were surrounded by trees and beset by heavy winter snows; nor did the variants of the pure Colonial appeal to him. His own first home, which was named "The White House," indicates his feeling for economy of line, united with grace in approach. The portico and doorways are entirely in keeping. Then came the Bee Hive and Lion Houses. The modified Colonial, the charming lift of the gables, windows and porch, show a trained faculty for plan and a keen sense of values in details. All the other houses he built in later years for his wives, in Provo, in St. George, and in various parts of the city bear the sure marks of the Leader's careful planning.

What he was as home builder without, he excelled when the interiors were planned and finished. He also had a keen feeling for inner decorations of a chaste and substantial nature. He had that care for detail, that appreciation for form and proportion that gave a classic touch to simple models. His mantels, fireplaces, doorways, stairs and cupboards which he built in Auburn, in Nauvoo and in Utah are worthy of the study of trained architects to-day.

The force of the Leader's example covered the inter-mountain region with comfortable, well-planned homes, where room, economy and homely beauty of line and contour gave an air of stability and harmony to the smallest dwelling. No squalor or ugliness intruded, for civic pride was a religious necessity.

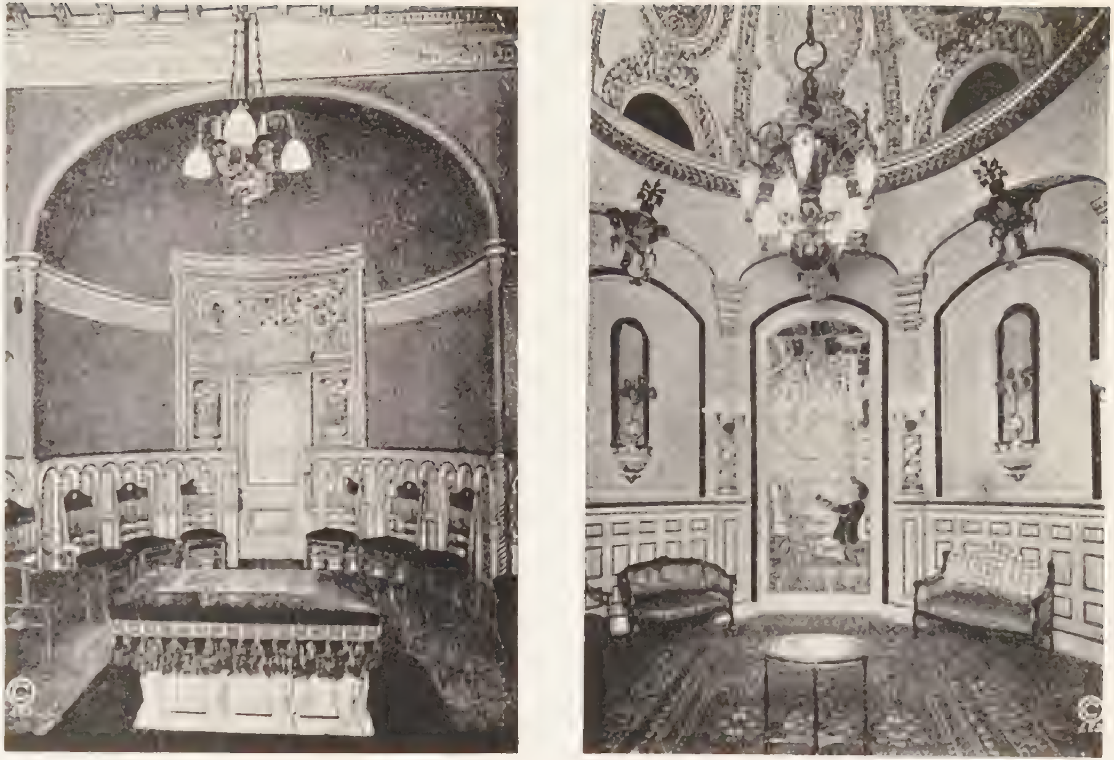
The Bowery, which had served the first two years in Salt Lake City as a gathering place for the pioneers, was roomy and comfortable in the pleasant weather, but a meeting house, or tabernacle, was needed. That the master hand of Brigham Young designed the outlines of what came to be known as the Old Tabernacle is evident in the illustrations left of that charmingly simple structure. It was commenced in 1851, and completed and dedicated April 6, 1852. Its dimensions were 126 by 64 feet and it was built of adobe, while the roof was shingled with native white pine shingles. A wing was added later.

But Zion was growing. Emigrants were pouring in, families were growing up, and a great auditorium was needed. The mind of the Leader carried this need for a time, and at last he found a way to carry out the most novel architectural idea yet evolved—that remarkable edifice, the present Tabernacle which not a few imaginative writers have likened to an egg shell cut in half and set down lengthwise.

Now, Brigham Young, like all great men, could conceive ideas, plan structures, or devise institutions. Yet there must be trained minds near, strong hands and willing hearts, or ideas die a-borning. Among the ablest of his associates, especially in an architectural way, was Truman O. Angell, the brother of his first living wife. He had been sent on a year's missionary visit to Europe in 1852–53 to polish his natural gifts and to give him wide perspective. The two worked together harmoniously.

When the plan of a great new Tabernacle with an arched, unsupported roof occurred to Brigham Young, he knew that a certain type of mechanical skill was required to develop it. There had come to Utah in 1851 a capable millwright and bridge-builder, by name Henry Grow. He was sent for and asked if he could construct a large bowery after the same structural plan as the bridge over the Jordan River, the Leader himself drawing the outline of the projected building on the ground with his umbrella. When asked how large such a structure might be made, Elder Grow replied, "One hundred and fifty feet wide and as long as you want it." They figured out the design and dimensions of the contemplated building, and it was built exactly as planned. Some trouble was experienced in details and the Leader directed that a tiny model be built, which was done. Truman O. Angell was the architect, and William H. Folsom the assisting architect of this most unique structure.

The work began September 1, 1865, and religious services were held there in 1867. The great elliptical roof, finished dream of Brigham Young, rests upon forty-four sandstone piers, nine feet from inside to outside, three feet thick and twenty feet high. The great building is 250 feet long by 150



THE SEALING ROOMS OF THE TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY

(Left) The Sealing room for the living where marriages are solemnized. (Right) The Holy of Holies reserved for the higher ordinances of the Priesthood relating to the exaltation of the living and the dead.

feet wide and 80 feet in height. Wooden pegs and thongs of rawhide were used in place of nails, which were not to be had at that time and place.

The crowning feature is the magnificent organ, built by a gifted convert from Australia, Joseph Ridges. It was built necessarily of native material, some of which was hauled over four hundred miles. It rises in splendour of design back of the pulpits filling the west end of the building and flanked by the choir seats with spaces for three or four hundred singers.

The great building with its huge unsupported roof seats 8,000 people comfortably. A thousand more crowd in and often 10,000 people are accommodated. Some modern improvements in heating, lighting, modified organ pipes, the radio and loud speaker have been added; but the building remains substantially as Brigham Young planned it and as his associates and friends built it. If he were asked, however, "Who was the architect, the designer of the Tabernacle and the Temple?" he would answer at once and with solemn intonation, as he always did: "God is the Supreme Architect. We owe all our inspiration, our love of beauty and the knowledge of how to express our views to the Father in Heaven who gives to His children what they ask for and what they need."

A Social Hall, where both dancing parties and theatricals could be given, especially during the winter months, was built in 1852. The Hall was not large, being only forty by eighty feet, but there was an ample basement under the hall for serving banquets. Here were a kitchen, pantry, and large dining-room. Above that, and over the kitchen were dressing-rooms. A good stage and a well-planned floor for dancing made it an ideal small temple of art and joy. Over the stage opening was an excellent plaster cast of William Shakespeare, while an arched ceiling provided a good sounding-board. The fact that this bust of Shakespeare was brought by ox-team across the plains in those early days proves not only the feeling that the people had for the drama in general, but the acquaintance and admiration they had for the "immortal Bard of Avon."

Just ten years later, the Leader decided, after counselling with his brethren whose views in these matters were always considered and in this case synchronised perfectly with his own, that the people needed an adequate structure for dramatic presentation. It may be that he did not feel equal to designing a structure which involved many technical details, it might be that he desired to give his young dramatic adjutant-general, Hyrum B. Clawson, some insight into the best theatrical designs then known; but whatever the motive, Elder Clawson went East and brought back full plans of the famous Niblo Theatre on Broadway in New York. The doric pillars in the inset between the enclosed circular stairways to the galleries are as original as they are beautiful.

> "The front entrance of the building has an open porch of twenty by thirty-two feet, supported by two Grecian doric columns; directly in front are the principal doors leading to the parquette and dress circle, and at the sides are the stairways leading to the three galleries."

It is a splendid structure and would grace any city of any size. And for the new city of the desert it spoke volumes for the people's culture and love of the best things in life.

At its dedication the following is but a portion of the tribute paid to those who were responsible:

> "The superintendence of the building was entrusted to Mr. William H. Folsom, who has certainly gained for himself great credit as an architect and practical builder; and, while we cheerfully and unreservedly accord this meed of praise, we would neither satisfy ourselves, nor the many who have visited the building during its erection, did we suppress the expression that, over and above everybody, the practical sense and skill of President Young has constantly and everywhere been manifested. When finished, it is probable the building will have cost one hundred thousand dollars, if not a much larger sum, and for that outlay we believe, we are again indebted to President Young."

When wrapped in vision as he first gazed down into the barren valley of the Great Salt Lake, he had seen Temple spires rising out of that glorious vision. Six years of grilling struggle for existence had to pass, however, before the people felt able to begin the work. But on February 14, 1853, the site was dedicated with appropriate ceremony. The Leaders and people assembled and witnessed the survey of the site, and were addressed by President Young:

> "I scarcely ever say much about revelations or visions but suffice it is to say, five years ago last July, I was here and saw in the spirit the Temple not ten feet from where we have laid the chief cornerstone. I have not inquired what kind of a temple we should build. Why? Because it was represented before me. I had never looked upon that ground but the vision of it was there. I see it as plainly as if it were in reality before me. Wait until it is done. I will say, however, that it will have six towers, instead of one. Now do not any of you apostatise because it will have six towers and Joseph only built one. It is easier for us to build sixteen than it was for him to build one. The time will come when we shall build one in the centre of temples and on the top groves and fish ponds. But we shall not see them here at present."

The impressive ceremony of laying the corner stones was held coincident with the general conference of the Church on April 6, following. It was a daring and stupendous undertaking, the building of a Temple in that far-off wilderness by a people in the midst of poverty and privation. The infinite faith of the Latter Day Saints in God and their ultimate destiny found no more lasting monument than the laying of the foundation of a four million dollar Temple in an unbroken wilderness one thousand miles from civilisation. "Shall it be built of brick or sun-dried adobe?" was asked. "No," answered John Taylor, and Brigham Young repeated that No! Build it to stand through the Millennium!

The Temple is built of gray granite taken from a mountain of that enduring material in Little Cottonwood canyon, twenty miles southeast of Salt Lake City. Many of the blocks of granite in the walls are so large that four yoke of oxen were required to haul each of them, occupying four days in transit. This process of hauling rock by ox-teams, from the quarry to the Temple site, was so slow and expensive that President Young decided to have a canal constructed to carry the rock by boats. Accordingly, the canal was dug, at great cost, from the mouth of the Canyon across the bench land to an outlet in City Creek, near Temple block. But in 1873, before the canal was sufficiently completed to be made available for the main purpose in view, a line of railway was laid which supplanted this contemplated use of the canal. The latter has since been used to great advantage in conveying a large supply of water to the city.

An incident which occurred when the walls were but a few feet above the ground is proof of how Brigham Young's mind dwelt on the stability of construction. This was left entirely in the hands of the architect and superintendent. One day the latter walked into his office, weary and heavy laden.

"Brother Brigham," he said, "I guess we'll have to make a change in our Temple walls. I have been careless, I guess. I find that the men have been occasionally using granite chips in between the blocks to save using so much mortar."

Brigham Young arose, without words, led the way down to the Temple block, found the foundation walls well begun, and the workmen filling in between the great granite blocks with chipped bits of granite only, leaving out the mortar which would cement them and thus solidify the whole.

"This Temple," he rebuked the builders, "is to stand throughout the Millennium. Can you not understand the decay and destruction which would come with the cracking and settling of the massive structure which is to rest upon these walls?"

Two or more tiers of blocks were painfully and slowly dug out, and carefully laid up again. There was no more careless work done on those walls. "Build not for to-day nor to-morrow, but for all eternity," was his constant teaching, both in temporal and spiritual forces.

Another circumstance illustrates the prophetic insight into the future which sometimes lighted the mind of the Leader.

THE TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY

After the walls were well on the way, the architect came to his office with an anxious countenance.

"Brother Brigham," he said, "we have made a serious if not fatal mistake in all our plans. We have planned this whole building without adequate chimneys for heating. What on earth will we do to heat all the halls and rooms in the winter time? We will have to tear part of the walls out, won't we? What shall we do?"

Brigham Young sat quietly listening and considering. It was before the day of central heating. After a pause, he said: "Go on, Brother Angell. When the time comes to heat it, there will be a way provided!" So it proved; for when the Temple was completed a central heating plant, two blocks away, furnished the necessary warmth.

The Salt Lake Temple is 186½ feet long, 99 feet wide, and boasts of six graceful towers, three at each end of the building. The central one on the east is adorned with a life-sized figure of the angel Moroni blowing a trumpet, proclaiming the restoration of the Gospel. It reaches a height above the ground of 222 feet. The foundation walls are sixteen feet thick and eight feet deep, while above ground the walls vary in thickness from nine to six feet. All told it cost about $4,000,000. Architecturally, it follows no accepted plan, being composite and original, and for that very reason is often alluded to as "Mormonesque." It is here worthy of note that Lord Kingsborough's *Travels in Yucatan* contains an illustration of a prehistoric Toltec Temple whose similarity to the Salt Lake City Temple is startling. Even the round windows and turrets are found there.

In 1855 a temporary House of the Lord, called the Endowment House, was erected in the Temple block in Salt Lake City. Many necessary ordinances were performed there. But Brigham Young's heart yearned to see a Temple erected where he and his brethren who had received all their blessings and sealings under the hands of the Prophet Joseph could bestow these same gifts and powers upon those who were worthy to receive them. The costly one in Salt Lake City took forty years to complete and was only half finished when Brigham Young died. But a Temple must be built where he could instruct and fully endow his associates. So he decided to erect a smaller one in the sunny southern part of Utah.

This part of the state, because of its much lower altitude, is of semi-tropical climate, and is known as Utah's "Dixie." It stretches away in broken ridges to the great gorges of the Colorado River, known as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. To this barren region came a valiant company of pioneers in the year 1861 to make a settlement. Here the City of St. George was laid out. Here the Leader built a factory to make cotton and woollen cloth and established mills and shops, and gave inspiration to gardening and fruit planting to the hardy pioneers who had braved the heat and barrenness.

A spring of water in the north sand bluffs, to furnish domestic needs; the treacherous shifting bed and banks of the Santa Clara River to dam and turn into irrigating streams for fields, and plenty of faith and good Yankee pluck, went to form the combination which built a marvellous small replica of Salt Lake City in this naturally forbidding district. Here were planted the almond and fig, the peach and apricot, the grape vine and many semi-tropical fruits and vegetables. Nowhere else is there richer or more delicious fruitage than from these pioneer plantings. The delightful climate of St. George with its attendant pleasant winter weather attracted many visitors.

The thought of a Temple here being in the Leader's mind he presented the matter to his counsellors and the Twelve, and it was decided that the enterprise should be undertaken. The winters he spent in sunny St. George were occupied in drafting out plans for building a House of the Lord. He had his daughter, the writer, with him. She read over and over again to him the descriptions given in Leviticus of the Tabernacle in the wilderness and the account of Solomon's Temple as given in I and II Chronicles and I and II Kings. He must know just how long was a cubit; exactly where and how the baptismal font, called the sea of brass, stood; and all about the formation of the brazen oxen, upon which the font rested. He was familiar with the dimensions and construction of the Nauvoo Temple planned by the Prophet Joseph Smith, which had a font of stone resting on carved oxen's backs. He determined that the font to be placed in the Temple (the only one he should build and see completed) should be as near those of Solomon's Temple as unhurried hands could make it and with as perfect lines and comeliness as artists could design. He presented this baptismal font, which really was a work of art, as his personal contribution to the Temple.

The large Bible he used is full of notes on the margins, made by himself and his daughter. He left within its covers his own rough draft of the lower floor plan of the building and it shows exactly how he shaped out matters for architects to develop in perfection.

The site, dedicated on November 9, 1871, was the centre of a small valley, the surrounding foothills being practically dry all the year round. Work on the excavations began immediately, but the task was rendered difficult as several springs of alkali water were discovered and the seepage threatened to ruin the foundations. But the people were not to be beaten. The hills abounded in black volcanic rocks, impenetrable to water. Into the marshy soil tons and tons of volcanic basaltic lava were placed upon which to erect the massive structure. Over $100,000 was spent on the foundation alone. Workmen were brought down from the north, and organised into groups as masons, carpenters, road-builders, loggers, quarrymen and as plasterers and painters. Each branch of work was carefully officered and the workers were sustained by the votes of the congregation and labour was thus dignified. In no better way did Brigham Young manifest his knowledge of human nature than the recognition of men's individual rights and group equality.

The Temple is 141 feet long and 93 feet wide. The walls are built of sandstone painted white, which measure 84 feet from the ground to the top of the parapets and the tower is 135 feet high. The beautiful, massive-buttressed, white Temple crowns the Valley's gorgeous-coloured, green, black-red beauty. It was built by free-will offerings and by appropriations from the tithings of the people. The total cost of the completed building was considerably more than $500,000.

In April, 1877, the Temple was formally dedicated by the Leaders in solemn conclave. The time and occasion was marvellous to those who were privileged to be present. The building was crowded day after day during the three days dedicatory sessions. In each of these services Apostle Lorenzo Snow who had been trained under the Prophet Joseph Smith, led in the "Hosannah Shout" with solemn and beautiful dignity.

The services and ceremonies revealed to the Prophet and taught by him in Nauvoo to Brigham Young and termed Endowments were fully expounded to all brethren and sisters ministering in the new Temple. All his instructions were carefully recorded and he established on a firm foundation the rituals and proceedings belonging to the House of the Lord. He urged the people during these Temple days to search out their genealogies, to prepare their records, to go forth vicariously in the waters of baptism, thus releasing the spirits of their beloved ancestors from their prison houses behind the veil.

Brigham Young spent his last winter in the St. George Temple giving instructions and assisting in the work, and training, through counsel and experience, those men and women who later assisted in the dedicatory services of the other Temples which were completed after his death.

Not only was there to be a Temple in St. George but the centre of the state was considered a suitable place in which to build another. A Temple site at Manti was selected and here on April 25, 1877, he laid the corner stone, offering also the dedicatory prayer. In the northern part of Utah lies the fruitful and well-watered Cache Valley, the centre of a great productive farming population. Here, also, at Logan, President Young, on May 18, 1877, dedicated a site for a Temple, the corner stones of which were laid in the following September. Both of these temples were larger and costlier than the one at St. George.

The Salt Lake Temple in course of construction, the St. George Temple completed, and dedicated, the temporary House of the Lord in Salt Lake City in full operation, two other Temple sites chosen and their corner stones laid, before his death in 1877, evidenced the profound conviction concerning that part of the Lord's work which animated and informed the mind of Brigham Young. His associates and the great body of the people were in harmony on this vital point, and surely the spirits in prison rejoiced both before and after he entered into their company. These four temples are among the finest and most impressive structures in western America.

# XXI

## PATRON OF THE ARTS—MUSIC

Pioneers Lovers of Art—Appreciation of Music—Revelation Regarding Music—Its Importance in Church Service—Hymn Books—Orchestras and Bands—Music on the March—Mendelssohn-Bartholdy on the Desert—Folk-Song of the West—Early Musicians—Professor George Careless—His Work in Utah—"The Messiah" Performed in Salt Lake City in 1875.

It is a matter for small surprise that the pioneer people who trekked their weary way to the Rocky Mountains in 1847, brought ploughs and harrows, sacks of grain and fruits, nails, saws and tools, handlooms and spinning-wheels together with the skill which would build houses, plant farms and erect shops and mills. That they also carried bits of tasteful furniture and primitive household decorations, may express only the homely instincts of home-loving wives and mothers. That these religious adventurers, but a few generations removed from their Pilgrim and Puritan forebears, should fold away in their practical preparations, ways and means to carry on their progressive educational policies together with the fundamentals of all the arts which translate beauty and harmony into daily lives, is indeed marvellous in the eyes of their thoughtful and grateful descendants.

The cultivation of art is possible, so history tells us, only to peoples who have passed the foundational period of national life and who thus have time and leisure to express emotions in plastic clay, with pen or brush or through harmonic rhythm and melody. But the Gospel of Jesus Christ is founded on love, on harmony and unselfish ministration. All human necessities and practical developments of the outer life are but sharpened tools for the inner soul of man to mellow and make beautiful. Poetry, music, painting, sculpture, the drama—all these are exalting and purifying if the human hands which tool them are pure and clean. So, after all, it is not so wonderful that the Utah pioneers carried poetry and musical instruments, rare flower seeds and embroidery needles as the choicest portion of their equipment.

Music is the universal language. Its study and practice enlarges the soul and refines the feelings. Music is the only art which is referred to in the Scriptures as a part of heaven itself. It is the reward of the righteous, and the occupation of the angels.

Of all the arts, music and literature held first place with the Latter Day Saints. No people on earth have appreciated music, or have given more encouragement to the untrammelled expression of this exquisite art, than have these people. It is a part of their worship. Their churches have always been crowded with local musicians and splendid choirs; while congregational singing is now, as it ever has been, the predominating feature of religious and social life. The Church service carries no fixed rituals, has no set forms or ceremonials; but in every ward—the thousand and more now organised—are choirs, choruses, orchestras, and bands—these were fostered and in some instances founded by Utah's great pioneer, Brigham Young.

To-day, to hear that risen congregation of ten thousand voices under the great Tabernacle dome singing "Come, come ye saints," "Oh, my Father," "We thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet," or "The Hallelujah Chorus" from "The Messiah," accompanied by the swelling tones of the magnificent pipe organ, gives a thrill unsurpassed in musical experiences.

Although deprived of listening to secular music in his boyhood, Brigham Young loved music. He said once that he had never heard the notes of a violin till he was eleven years old. To listen to the sound of a violin was an unforgivable sin in his father's household. Yet the Prophet had been inspired to loosen the tension of that inhibition for the whole Church, and Brigham Young had rejoiced in that righteous freedom.

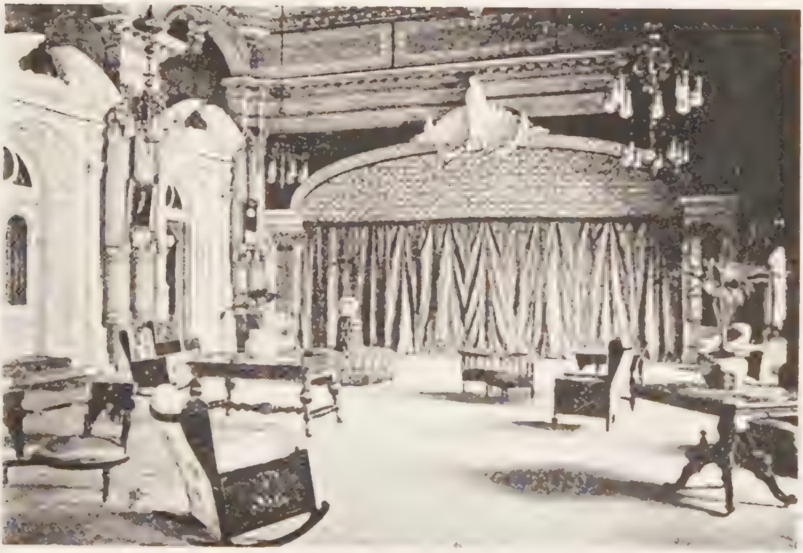
In 1830, when the Church was re-established on earth, music in the United States was in its swaddling clothes. Dr. Lowell Mason was just beginning his pioneering work of improving the New England psalmody. Dudley Buck was not known. There were no public orchestras, no philharmonic societies, no operas, no chamber music recitals, and no music publishing societies. It was a bold leap, therefore, on the part of the Latter Day Saints when they incorporated all musical possibilities into their social intercourse, on the hearthstone, and at the altar.

Very early, in the Church, poets and writers felt the need, no doubt stimulated by the Prophet Joseph himself, of hymns suitable to the new revelations and the restored Gospel. The first intimation we have of this need of proper musical selections came in July, 1830, in the form of a revelation to the Prophet Joseph Smith, directed to his wife, Emma Smith, in which the following remarkable words are found:

> "And verily I say unto thee, that thou shalt lay aside the things of this world, and seek for the things of a better.
>
> "And it shall be given thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be in my Church.
>
> "For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart, yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads."

It is significant that this revelation was given just three months after the organisation of the Church and one month after the baptism of Emma Smith herself. We are happy to know that a woman is thus honoured, for woman's love of the beautiful and her delight in singing the praises of God, are thus recognised by the Lord himself. What a contrast also to the worship of Churches where men only are allowed to sing the formal rituals of the Church service!

THE WORLD ROOM IN THE TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY



THE CELESTIAL ROOM IN THE TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY

In the year 1835, the revelation-appointment was fulfilled and a hymn book was published in Kirtland, containing, for the purpose named, a few selections made by Sister Smith assisted by Frederick G. Williams and William W. Phelps. No ignorant or debased people write songs, hymns and sacred music. Yet from the beginning, this Church has produced original music and hymns as well as using the glorious music of the Masters.

When Brigham Young, accompanied by Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor and Willard Richards were sent to England, in 1840, to regulate and set in order the affairs of that newly opened mission, one of the first enterprises undertaken was the publication of a greatly enlarged English edition of the hymn book. He was assisted in this labour by Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor. The English saints needed a hymn book especially adapted to their worship, and Brigham Young had doubtless been commissioned by the Prophet to undertake this work. Before he left there in 1841, there had been published and sold over four thousand hymn books.

Quite early in the Church, orchestras and bands were introduced. In Nauvoo there were at least two bands and one orchestra. There were pioneer distinctions between a "string band" which had violins and viols as the greater part of the equipment, and the "martial band" which was made up of reed instruments augmented by drums and cymbals. Then there was the "brass band" which was a group of brasses and drums. These bands, with the established church choir, were all a necessary part of the life of Nauvoo.

The Nauvoo Brass Band was under the leadership of Captain William Pitt, an English convert and band-master, who succeeded in converting a number of his men, all coming to Nauvoo among the first fruits of the gospel in Great Britain. Captain Pitt brought vast stores of music with him which served as the basis of later collections. Instruments were also imported from England.

A number of Nauvoo musicians formed of members from the various bands, organised a Quadrille band, and, with the approval of the Prophet himself, staged the first dancing party, held in the Mansion House, and they there received a welcome and instructions concerning such affairs. From that time on Brigham Young felt himself justified in fostering the art of music with associated recreational features.

Duzett's and Pitt's bands accompanied the pioneer companies and gave not only life and colour to camp struggles and experiences, but were dauntless scouts and pioneers as well. Indeed, the endless journey across the western wilds had hardly been possible were it not for the daily inspiration of music from the bands and choirs and participated in by the moving multitude.

These many journeys across trackless plains were accomplished by the people, first through the love of God which gave them a determination to maintain their inalienable right of freedom to worship Him; second, they possessed an implicit trust in their leader as being inspired of God; third, through the wisdom of their leader they possessed a normal, healthy, social morale of which music and music-making was an important part.

Colonel Kane speaks of the musical conditions of these mob-driven exiles in describing a ball which he attended at the mustering in of the Mormon Battalion:

> "Well as I knew the peculiar fondness of the 'Mormons' for music, their orchestra in service on this occasion astonished me by its numbers and fine drill. The story was that an eloquent Mormon missionary had converted its members in a body at an English town, a stronghold of the sect, and that they took up their trumpets, trombones, drums, and hautboys together, and followed him to America. When the refugees from Nauvoo were hastening to part with their tableware, jewellery, and almost every other fragment of metal wealth they possessed that was not iron, they had never a thought of giving up the instruments of this favourite band. And when the battalion was enlisted, some of the performers were to accompany it; but they all refused. Their fortunes went with the Camp of the Tabernacle. They had led the Farewell

> Service in the Nauvoo Temple. Their office now was to guide the monster choruses and Sunday hymns; and like the trumpets of silver, made of a whole piece, 'for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camp,' to knoll the people into church. Some of their wind instruments, indeed, were uncommonly full and pure-toned, and in that clear dry air could be heard to a great distance. It had the strangest effect in the world, to listen to their sweet music winding over the uninhabited country. Something in the style of a Moravian death-tune blown at day-break, but altogether unique. It might be when you were hunting a ford over the Great Platte, the dreariest of all wild rivers, perplexed among the far-reaching sand bars, and curlew shallows of the shifting bed;—the wind rising would bring you the first faint thought of a melody; and as you listened, borne down upon the gust that swept past you a cloud of the dry sifted sands, you recognised it—perhaps a home-loved theme of Henry Proch or Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, away out there in the Indian Marshes!"

One of the great heart-songs of this much-maligned people comes near being the greatest and the truest folk-song of the real West. Perhaps no more pathetic revelation of keen appraisement of life-values and of the power of music to soothe the heart, is given, than in the incident which occurred on the snowy and wind-swept plains of Iowa when the saints had been driven out of Nauvoo, were cold, often hungry, sometimes sick, and many of them discouraged and therefore irritated with each other and with their leaders. It was probably on some such occasion that William Clayton, camp historian and poet, wrote that beautiful soul-lifting hymn, "Come, come ye Saints."

Come, come, ye saints, no toil nor labour fear,
But with joy wend your way;
Though hard to you this journey may appear,
Grace shall be as your day.
'Tis better far for us to strive
Our useless cares from us to drive;
Do this, and joy our hearts will swell
All is well! All is well!

Why should we mourn, or think our lot is hard?
'Tis not so; all is right.

Why should we think to earn a great reward
If we now shun the fight?
Gird up your loins, fresh courage take,
Our God will never us forsake;
And soon we'll have this truth to tell—
All is well! All is well!

We'll find the place which God for us prepared,
Far away in the West,
Where none shall come to hurt or make afraid;
There the saints will be blessed.
We'll make the air with music ring—
Shout praises to our God and King;
Above the rest these words we'll tell—
All is well! All is well!

And should we die before our journey's through,
Happy day! All is well!
We then are free from toil and sorrow too;
With the just we shall dwell.
But if our lives are spared again
To see the saints, their rest obtain,
O how we'll make this chorus swell—
All is well! All is well!

In addition to the bands which migrated with the saints and made music for their entertainment during the trials of early settlement was Ballo's Band. The conductor, Captain Dominco Ballo, was a converted Italian, a graduate of the Milan Conservatory of Music, who had been the leader of a brass band at West Point before joining the Church. He came to Utah in 1854 and his genius was at once recognised and encouraged by Brigham Young. In return he gave his Leader his full heart's devotion. He was a finished clarinet player, and an all-round classical and fine musician. When asked once why he did not "bear his testimony" (or express himself in meeting) he replied in broken English: "I bear my testimony with this," as he lovingly fingered his clarinet. He would suspend his baton at rehearsals and say, "Flattee, Brother Clayton; sharpee, Brother Spills!" Ballo built a music hall, composed music, played at church and ward services and parties, festivals and celebrations, while still obliged to find a living at making adobes and even hod-carrying for builders—for all were pioneers first in those days.

In addition to the stringed and brass instruments of the bands there were many other kinds in the early days of Utah. Two or three families brought their pianos with them in the emigration of 1848. At a party given in 1854, there were two pianos played in the musical programme with six violins, a bass viol, guitars, clarinets, flutes and even Scotch bagpipes. Music and musical instruments were not viewed as luxuries but as educational necessities.

Congregational singing was from the earliest days as today, a fixed part of the Sabbath worship. Brigham Young loved to hear the people sing and it was part of his policy to send out with each colony a music leader to carry on that part of the Sabbath service even if he were a cobbler or a wheelwright during the week, as many of them were. Good and crowded choirs at all ward meetings were the rule. And Brigham Young never failed to greet the leader and the singers as he came in, nor did he forget his meed of praise when the services were over.

An early musician was John Tullidge, who was a trained English singer and composer. He was the conductor of St. Mary's Cathedral Choir, Newport, South Wales, before he joined the Church. He composed and published the first L. D. S. Psalmody in England in 1858. He came to Utah in 1863 and gave his first concert in September, 1864, his programme including a Russian Overture, solos and choruses from Haydn's "Creation," as well as several of his original chorals.

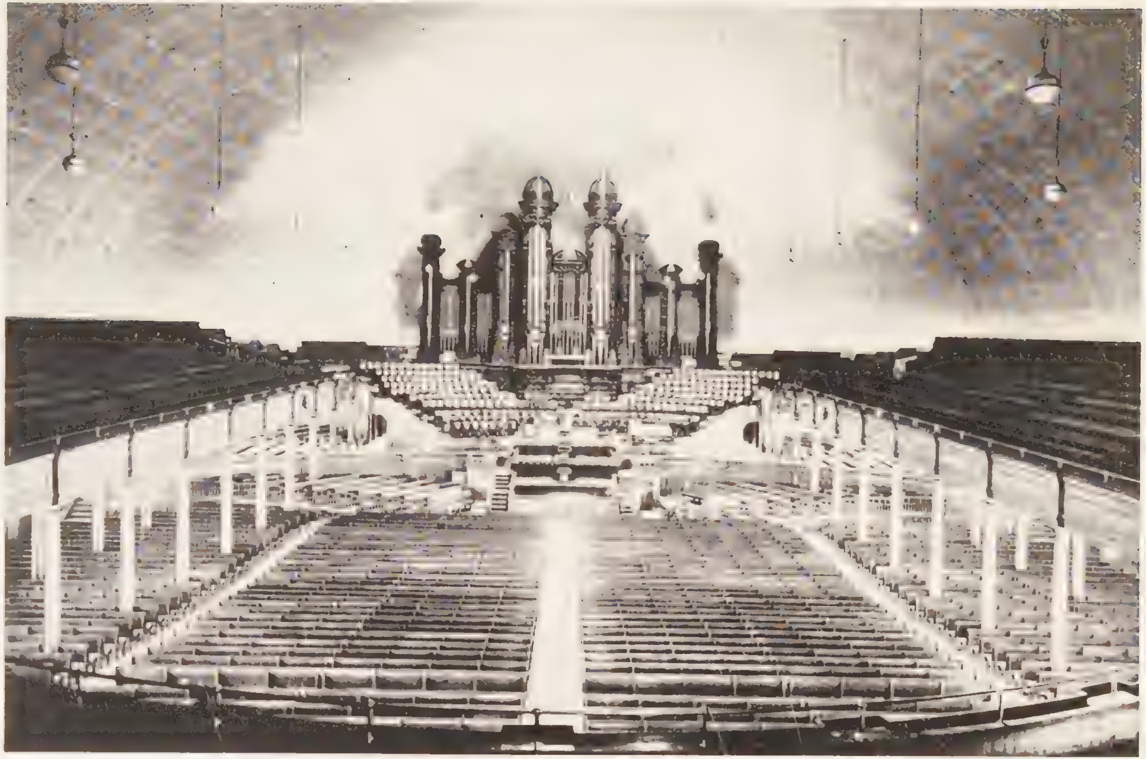
That same year, Professor George Careless, with his gifted wife Lavinia, emigrated to Utah. Professor Careless has a genius which is rare indeed. He was the outstanding musician of pioneer days, a personal friend and protégé of Brigham Young.

Tullidge writes of him thus:

> "But the man who has done the most for the musical progress of Salt Lake City, and for the establishment of the legitimate profession, is undoubtedly Mr. George Careless.
>
> "George Edward Percy Careless was born in London, Sept. 24, 1839. Early in youth he showed musical talent, and having become fairly proficient as an amateur, he studied in the Royal Academy, and under the tuition of Alexander Simmons,—a pupil of Sainton, and a member of the Queen's private orchestra. In London he played with the great instrumentalists of the day, under the batons of Sir Michael Costa, Sir Julius Benedict, Dr. Arnold, G. W. Martin, Wm. Ganz, Randegger, Barnard and other famous conductors in oratorios, operas, concerts, etc., with from thirty-five to forty thousand performers, in Exeter Hall, Crystal Palace, Drury Lane Theatre, Italian Church and other places. He left London for Utah, June 3, 1864, and arrived in Salt Lake City, November 3rd.
>
> "In 1865, Professor Careless took the leadership of the Salt Lake Theatre orchestra, which he held five or six years, during which time he produced a number of musical plays, including 'Macbeth,' 'The Brigands,' and 'Aladdin.' For the latter he composed the entire music (for over forty numbers), comprising solos, duets, choruses and dramatic music, Professor Tullidge copying the parts. For several years many of the melodies were sung around the streets. He also composed the music for 'Cinderella': and did all the composing and arranging work for the orchestra to the close of his leadership. It was during this engagement he conducted the first opera given in Utah, 'The Grand Duchess'—with the Howson troupe, and an act from 'Der Freischutz,' and several operettas."

His wife, Lavinia Careless, was not only the favourite singer of Brigham Young, but was one of the greatest woman singers of the Church of Christ in modern times. These two gifted ones not only led music, produced oratorios, operas, and concerts, but Professor Careless composed some of the most classical and beloved hymns used in the Church.

An incident illustrates the Leader's willingness to be led musically: When Professor Careless was appointed, Brigham Young expressed his preference for soft music. He said he had himself heard the soft and beautiful singing of the angels. The choir-leader remonstrated: "Well, President Young, you wouldn't want a straight diet of honey, would you? Some



THE INTERIOR OF THE TABERNACLE, SALT LAKE CITY

It has accommodations for 8000 people and one of the finest organs in the world.

of our hymns require stirring music. But whenever you want anything different to what we are to sing, you need only to say so." Brigham Young patted the Professor's shoulder and said: "Go on, my boy, you're all right."

A few years later came the famous discussion between Apostle Orson Pratt and Dr. John P. Newman (of Washington, D. C.) on the subject of "Polygamy and the Bible." Before the day of the services Brigham Young sent for George Careless and told him he wanted something bright and stirring by way of opening music, as there was considerable anxiety abroad among the people, after the first day's discussion which had been somewhat acrimonious on the part of the Eastern divine.

"All right," the musician answered, "I'll get it." He went home that night and wrote the music for "Hark, listen to the Trumpeteers," and the great choir of 300 voices pealed out that martial air to open the last session of the debate. The second hymn at this session was also his original music to "Arise, my Soul, Arise." As Apostle Orson Pratt was finishing the debate and the session, Brigham Young beckoned to Brother Careless. "Give something lively, can't you, Brother George; and begin at once when Brother Pratt is through. I see five ministers down in front ready to spring to their feet the moment Brother Orson sits down." And as Orson was drawing his coat tails aside to take his seat, the organ behind him pealed out "Daughter of Zion, thy foes shall oppress thee no more!" The choir flamed into song and the meeting was soon closed. Surely Brigham Young discovered the need of stirring music, at times, even in Church!

When George Careless gave Handel's oratorio, "The Messiah," Brigham Young listened to a rehearsal and afterwards asked the musician to explain the principle of counterpoint which forms the magnificent structure of that triumphant glorification, "The Hallelujah Chorus." As the separate vocal melody of each part was explained, all blended into one harmonic whole and rising from key to key, from modulation to modulation, the purpose of it all unrolled before the Leader's mind. Characteristically, however, he dwelt upon the human contact with that swelling flood of melody: "Sister Careless and all the soloists sang beautifully. And the choir followed every motion of your stick."

A music critic of the time has this to say of an early rendition of the great oratorio:

> "To musical adepts who understand what a worthy execution of a complete oratorial composition means, this performance of the 'Messiah' in Salt Lake City may fitly be considered as one of the capital events in the musical history of America. There are only a few cities either in England or America, where the 'Messiah' can be executed by their local philharmonic societies; and even when given in London itself, the principal vocalists and instrumentalists of all England are sometimes combined to render the oratorio in its full capacity, and that too with a profound realisation among the artists that the composition will call into play all the human powers of voice, of soul, of intellect and instrumental execution. And even with such a combination of performers it requires the highest class audience to fully appreciate such music; so that if we can say that Salt Lake City is up to the standard of the 'Messiah' (which is too much to affirm in the supreme sense at present) we substantially affirm that Salt Lake City is one of the greatest musical cities of the world. In this view the performance of the 'Messiah' in our city in the summer of 1875, by a local philharmonic society under the conductorship of Professor Careless was a prophecy of such a culmination even in his own generation."

On the occasion of the performance of the "Messiah" the *Deseret News* said:

> "Several months ago now over two hundred ladies and gentlemen, including and comprising the best musical talent, vocal and instrumental, of this city, organised themselves into a society for promoting musical culture and raising the standard of musical taste in this community. This was a most praiseworthy object, for the excellence which a community attains in musical science and art is no mean criterion by which to judge of its local status. Professor Careless was engaged as conductor of the 'Handel and Haydn Society', which afterwards changed its name to the 'Philharmonic Society', under his conductorship."

Of this successful Deseret Philharmonic Society organised in 1875 in Salt Lake City, Elder James Smithies was president.

These music-loving people appealed to their European friends for suitable music and other contributions and they built up a flourishing society. Elder Smithies is the composer of several of our popular hymns.

Brigham Young's whole family were musical and he was happy when he could sit at ease in his own prayer-room surrounded by his wives and children listening to the songs of Zion sung by the tuneful voices of sons and daughters. Songs of tender sentiment or loyal devotion he always called for. The Negro melodies "My Old Kentucky Home," "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground," and "Sweet Nellie Gray" were particular favourites of the President after the Civil War.

That Brigham Young should love music and songful harmony is not a marvel. But that he should give it the breadth, and freedom of expansion, while yet keeping proper balance between the harmony that lifts the soul and the cheap, vulgar and mechanical music that debases and demoralises art— this is indeed a tribute to the innate refinement and grace of spirit not often found in rugged men who are both pathfinders and state builders.

# XXII

## RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT

Need of Amusement—Meaning of Recreation—Perfect Poise—Diversions in Camp—Home Entertainments in the Valley—Enjoyment of Natural Beauty—General Celebrations—An Early Procession—Picnic in Big Cottonwood Canyon—A Visitor's Description—Aged Not Forgotten—Sabbath Observances—Bathing in Great Salt Lake—Hot Springs—Outdoor Sports—Dancing—Visits to Settlements—Occasion for Public Holiday.

LIFE was a great adventure to the Mormon pioneers. Everything was to be organised and re-organised. All the forces of Nature were to be assembled and dominated. Life was very young and opportunity knocked at every cabin door. Planting, sowing, reaping, spinning, weaving, garment-fashioning—all were highly entertaining and most popular and profitable; while the artisan who worked in forge and mill made group life more desirable and comfortable with every hammer stroke. Nobody ever heard of "nerves" or "that tired feeling." Sickness and death there were, to be sure, but the life Beyond was so close to these practical-minded religious people that the intermission between the parting Here and the meeting There was but an interlude, not a finale. They could not experience the agony or the stony apathy felt by those who have not an invincible faith, a noble trust, and a perfect knowledge of the Gospel of Christ.

Brigham Young was not as rigid in his attitude towards amusements as were his Puritan forebears. Yet his people were not as flippant in their social observances and religion as were many of the western civilisation units. Nor were they ever socially ambitious. Political or economic life which classifies men into social strata leaving their women to shape ladders on which to climb in order to achieve class distinction, sounds the death knell for all true religious and social development.

To this people recreation and amusement is an ordained, religiously sanctioned variant of the daily pressing duties. The Leader and his close advisers and Council might carry heavy loads of responsibility in directing life-burdens—yet these were laid upon the broad altar of their daily duties, while he and they joined regularly and joyously yet not too frequently, in that recreational activity which is pleasure. For the pioneer, pleasure involved work and some personal sacrifice; pleasure was work and work was a form of pleasure.

Life is best enjoyed when time periods are evenly divided between labour, sleep and recreation. All men, women and children should labour; all must sleep; and if mental and physical balance is to be maintained, all people should spend one-third of their time in recreation which is rebuilding, voluntary activity—never idleness. "Eight hours work, eight hours sleep, and eight hours recreation" was Brigham Young's motto.

*Re-creation* is indeed the meaning of recreation. To renew and revive old forces and tissues; to relax the strain on set nerves and muscles already overtaxed, thus prompting functional activity in the whole system; this is recreation. Labour in excess produces collapse, death. Sleep too long indulged in, enervates and finally decays both will and body. Amusements of whatever nature, too ardently followed, destroy the nerve centres and inhibit healthy reactions to necessary life pursuits. Each of these necessary life agencies was viewed by the Leader in due relationship to each other and to the pressing needs of daily life.

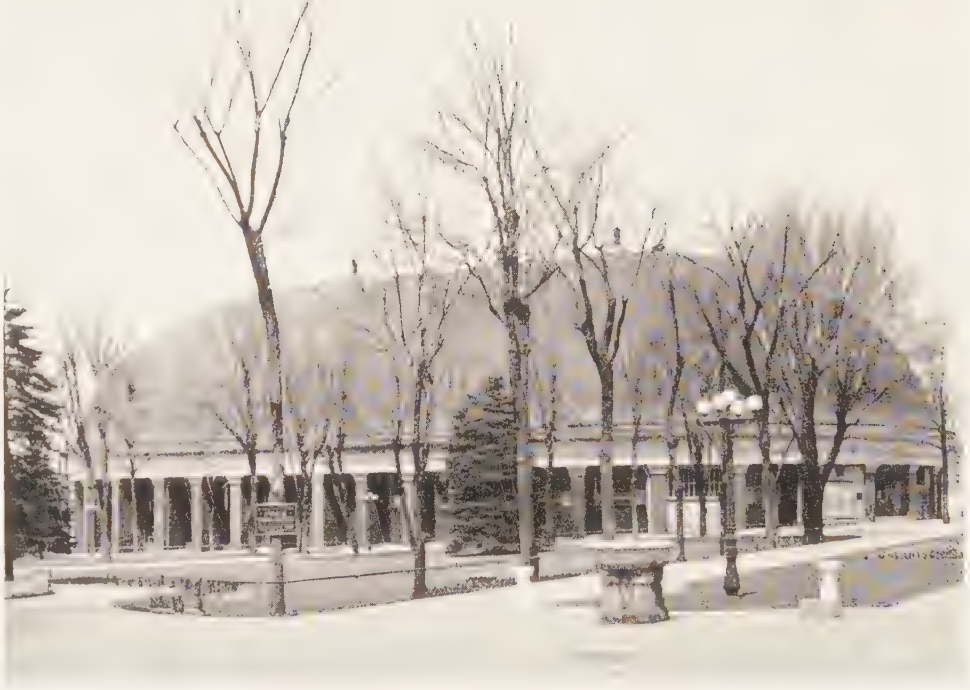
The perfectly poised character of Brigham Young was the master key of his supreme powers. His was the exalted genius of common, or balanced sense—that characteristic American quality which gives the Yankee all the fundamental stable qualities of his English forebears with a superadded flash of adventurous initiative begotten of trying anything once, from rebellion over a tea tax, to tying a string to a kite tail for cloudy experiments in lightning flashes, or releasing the atomic energy of a spoonful of earth.

With the ingrained Puritanism beaten into him by a stern father, there played upon the surface of his rugged nature, the glow and sparkle of his mother's love of music, beauty and the joy of living. He loved music, poetry, and the song of nature revealed in verdure and cliff; he delighted in the portrayal of human emotions as the drama unfolded the interplay and conflict of human will against circumstance or of will against will. He enjoyed the happy intercourse of social parties, and dancing was pure delight. But boisterous conduct, loud, unseemly laughter was abhorred, as were all games of chance, horse-racing and wild behavior. Moderation was the key which unlocked the door of perfect enjoyment in all things. He preserved a reverent spirit, partaking of all kinds of pleasure in a mood which might be interrupted at any time with a hymn, a song, a sermon, or a prayer.

Said he in one of his early discourses:

> "When I was a boy I was kept within strict bounds and was not allowed to walk more than half an hour on Sundays and it was to be understood that that half hour was merely for exercise and not for pleasure.
>
> "The proper and necessary gambols of youth having been denied me, makes me want active exercise and amusement now. I had no chance to dance when I was young, and never heard the enchanting tones of the violin, until I was eleven years old; and then I thought I was on the highway to hell, if I suffered myself to linger and to listen to it. I shall not subject my little children to such a course of unnatural training, but they shall go to the dance, study music, read novels and do anything else that will tend to expand their frames, add fire to their spirits, improve their minds, and make them feel free and untrammelled in body and mind."

Even during the distressing experience of the expulsion from Nauvoo, in midwinter, music and recreation were used to make endurable the great hardship of the occasion.



THE TABERNACLE, SALT LAKE CITY

> "Capt. Pitt and his band left Nauvoo on the same day with Brigham Young, Feb. 15, 1847, crossing the Mississippi on the ice and with him journeyed that day to the 'Camp of Israel' which waited for the leader on 'Sugar Creek.' And at night the weather was bitterly cold, the trumpet by the order of Brigham Young called the camp out to a concert in the open air, and the Nauvoo Brass Band performed its best selections, after which the pilgrims joined in the dance and the music was as joyous as at a merrymaking. In the Valley, the dance to the Mormons became almost an institution and the ball as a social sacrament."

The long journey across the plains taxed all physical and mental endurance; but there were always hours of relaxation in the early evening, when the camp fires blazed, babies were sung to sleep on mother's breast, while stories of prowess or of endurance, of experiences, and of pathos filled the twilight with sweet and sad memories. If the evening was pleasant, and all was well, out come the company musicians, quadrilles were formed, the violins sang and all beat time as the dancers bowed and promenaded around the inner circle of the camped enclosure. Songs, duets, band selections, recitations, all these varied the occasional programmes when camp was made early and "All was Well!"

During the first winter in the Valley there were the usual interchange of social amenities, in spite of poverty and toil. Sometimes a dance would be given in some home which boasted a "puncheon floor." Most floors were the hard-packed earth; but when the good man of the house possessed both gumption and logs, he could set sawed-off logs close enough in the dirt to make quite a respectable flooring, called puncheon. Then came the dance! It was some job, you may be sure, to turn a "pigeon wing" on that uneven, bumped-up surface. But it could be done and it was done.

Tallow candles aided by blazing logs in the fireplace gave illumination. The furniture all had to be moved out, both home-made and those precious rocking-chairs and poster-beds, rope-tied for springs, with the occasional chest of drawers, which had been brought so carefully and heavily across the plains with ox-teams—all these must go out. Young swains and maidens were, of course, beholden to set them all back in order and place when the party was over.

Only one cotillion could be danced in such restricted quarters, while the waiting ones sat on trunks and benches eagerly awaiting their turn. But there was good nature and usually plenty of parched corn to while away the time, beside the endless friendly chatter. The music at these small family parties was usually two violins and sometimes an accordion or a flute to accompany them. The parties began at one or two o'clock in the afternoon and they were usually dismissed at ten o'clock, although holiday balls lasted till midnight, and sometimes even later.

Home entertainments were popular. A rag-bee or quilting furnished the impetus for a friendly gathering of neighbours. Husbands could come in to supper, while children played outside and waited for the second table. Sometimes, dancing and music completed the homely evening's entertainment—this necessarily in the winter seasons when time was abundant.

In later times, halls for amusement and dancing were built and "refreshments" became more plentiful. They were always provided on the communal plan, and from 1854, ice cream was an inseparable part of the summer's holiday menus. The mothers and wives enjoyed the social interchange of recipes and results as much as their men folk relished the dainties.

Above all forms of recreation, Brigham Young loved picnics best. Of them he was especially fond—for a day's or a week's duration. Beauty of sky and cloud, crag and foaming stream, rested eyes and mind and re-charged the batteries of the soul. There were so many canyon retreats that picnics might be taken for a day only up in Pleasant Valley in City Creek Canyon; or for a week in Big Cottonwood Canyon. He knew all the people would be blessed and mentally renovated in these out-of-door affairs as were himself and family.

Taught by the Supreme Power the menace of constant introspection, Brigham Young realised the healing virtues of Nature, especially when viewed through happy eyes. Men were at their best when engaged in labour that would give pleasure to their wives and children; and these, in turn, reacted gloriously to the stimulus of the homely domestic preparations for picnics and parties.

Thousands of guests would assemble in the mountain fastnesses, not only from Salt Lake City, but from each city and town which duplicated these canyon picnics, led by local leaders in their own nearby canyons. Huge boweries would be built, with good dancing floors, the lumber from which could be used later for regular building purposes. Great clothes-baskets of picnic and dishes, rolls of bedding, tents, with an occasional feather-bed for some "grandma," were provided by the women-folk. Above all, trouble was packed away and left in the ash-barrel at home; animosities were forgotten, as wives and children joined in delightful cooking, dressmaking and hair-curling preparations; while men laid aside and remembered no more the angry word, the selfish action of the neighbour who now offered an extra spring seat for the wives of his old friend to ride on up the rocky canyon road.

Brigham Young fostered all holiday celebrations and the Fourth of July, the Nation's birthday, with the birthday of the state, the Twenty-fourth of July, were made perpetual institutions from the very founding of the Territory. New Year's Day, Thanksgiving, Washington's Birthday, and May Day were as widely celebrated. Christmas Day was celebrated also. The Prophet's custom of creating a full week's holiday at the General Church Conference on April 6 and October 6 were and are still observed as a modified "Feast of Tabernacles" when all the people who are able come to worship the Lord in song and praise and exhortation at the headquarters of the Church.

The Fourth and Twenty-fourth of July were especially dear as holidays to the isolated pioneers. Processions were formed and flags were hoisted from liberty poles and house roofs. Processions of young men and maidens, in appropriate costumes, bearing aloft banners with liberty-proclaiming mottoes, marched through the principal streets led by Uncle Dimick Huntington as drum major of Pitt's martial band, with Duzett's and Ballo's bands down the long line. When the crowds were seated in the "bowery" the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were always read, followed by stirring addresses on patriotic subjects. Public feasts followed the morning exercises and dancing filled the twilight and early evening hours.

The procession which marked the fifth anniversary of the settlement of the pioneers in the Valley had as a variant a scientific touch largely reminiscent of the scholarly Orson Pratt, and showed the veneration in which "learning" was held by the people generally. In addition to the usual bands and banners and patriotic numbers the procession was enriched with the following novel features:

> Boy with compass.
>
> Terrestrial globe, mounted in a canopy of blue silk and gold, carried by four boys in white pants, shirts, hats and scarfs.
>
> Eight boys with educational instruments.
>
> Three boys with quadrant, mountain barometer and sextant.
>
> Celestial globe, mounted on a canopy of white silk and gold, carried by four boys in white pants, coronets and scarfs.
>
> Boy bearing orrery; inscription "Eternities".

In the same procession there were twenty-four Indian children in Indian costume. Later came a larger terrestrial globe mounted on a canopy of purple silk and gold, carried by six young men in white pants, tunics, neckties, scarfs and coronets of silk and gold. Brigham Young and his suite rode on white horses. The Church historian had a resplendent canopy of silk and gold with a roll, supported by other youths decked in white pants and trimmings. There were maps of America and Judea, bands, and mottoes unnumbered.

Remember, these people were a thousand miles from civilisation. They had reached their destination less than five short years ago in ox-teams. Yet, here they were resplendent in blue and white silk and resorting to golden canopies!

The following is an extract from the *New York Herald* of 1860, just three years after the Echo Canyon War incident, and is written by an invited guest who was a participant in the celebration at Silver Lake, Big Cottonwood Canyon. It gives a vivid picture of the celebrations often enjoyed by the people. Indeed they were on just such an "outing" in this identical spot when the first news of the coming of Johnston's army in 1857 reached them.

> "We left Salt Lake City on Sunday morning about eight o'clock, and got to within half a dozen miles of the lake on the same evening. By taking this early start, we avoided detention in the canyon behind the wagons, as, once there, to pass was next to impossible. When we got to the mountains and looked back to the valley, the view was magnificent. With the aid of telescope, we could see the teams rushing in every direction to the mouth of the canyon. Everybody seemed bent on a holiday. By Monday, at noon, without counting Brigham Young's family and retinue, his horses, mules, carriages, wagons, etc., 1,070 persons passed the first guard. There were 195 wagons and carriages, 248 horses, 190 mules and 140 oxen. . . .
>
> "After travelling some miles through a magnificent forest of trees, the visitor emerges suddenly from darkness to light, and rather unexpectedly finds his journey at an end—the great gathering place has been attained. The place is particularly adapted to the occasion. The valley, encircled by high towering mountains, is about three miles in diameter. . . . The lake, prominent in attractions to the visitor and tourist, is a magnificent sheet of water, abounding in trout. Brigham Young has a boat upon it for the pleasure of excursionists, which, on such occasions as the celebrations is largely patronised by the young and the aged, who indulge in the agreeable pastime of angling.
>
> "On the grounds immediately occupied by the wagons and tents, the Committee of Arrangements were prominently busy in locating the incomers, but seemingly with every kind of freedom and release from order. For Ex-Governor Young and his Counsellors, with their families, there was a place held in reserve for wagons, tents, and pasture; the Bishops, with those exceptions were guided more by momentary inspiration in directing the general people to locations than by any regard to

either order, class or rank. It was to be a day of freedom, and all were to mingle freely—only taking care not to crowd each other. The marquees, Sibley tents, and every kind of fixing for shelter from the burning sun or drenching rain were all fixed up in glorious confusion. The view of the occupied grounds by night, when the tents were lighted up and fires were burning outside, was really magnificent, and reminded me of Geneva, in Switzerland, on the last night of the year, when that elegant city seems one blaze of fire—citizens honouring the customs of their fathers.

"About half past ten o'clock on Monday morning, the out-rider announced that the Mormon Chief was approaching, and in a moment everybody was stirring to the front. When he came in sight, the military band struck up 'Happy Land'. That over, Ballo's band took its place in front of the procession, playing 'Dudah', rendered famous in Echo Canyon. As he neared his camping place, the Ballo's band playing the 'Star Spangled Banner,' Brigham Young himself drove into camp in a small open carriage with two or three members of his family. He was followed by two of his sons in an Eastern buggy. A four-mule team, another single span carriage, and two long wagons followed with the family. The slow drive in, the music playing, and the numerous riders that accompanied the Mayor and the Marshal on prancing steeds, made a fine picture in the mountains of Utah.

"Towards evening the eldest son of Brigham Young climbed the highest tree in the valley, and, after cutting off the branches for a dozen feet, untied from his body the national banner and tied it to the tree, amid the applause of the people.

"By early daylight next morning everything was astir in the camp. At six o'clock three salutes were fired in honour of the three first Presidency of the Church. The Martial Band was stationed by the gun, and as each report died away, music followed. At nine o'clock a salute of thirteen guns was fired—one for each year since the pioneers had entered the Valley.

"As the sun peeped out from behind heavy clouds, the hearts of the faithful were cheered, and the subject of conversation everywhere was the dance. The word was soon given and the three boweries were soon occupied with young and old, ready to spring away on the light fantastic toe. Each bowery was forty by twenty-four feet, and in that space were packed six sets of cotillions from about 10 a.m. till between the small hours of the following morning, with only very short intervals of rest for the musicians. Notwithstanding the occasional showers the merry dance continued.

"After the candles and lamps had been lighted, Brigham Young stepped out to the bowery, opposite his marquee, to be a spectator; but no sooner was he recognised than he received the manager's invitation

> to the boards. The floor was cleared of the anxious youngsters, and the Prophet, with his two eldest sons and his sons-in-law, with their wives, filled the first set. The musicians had orders for something lively, and off they went in right good earnest. Brigham Young is particularly gay in the dance, and evidently thinks, when at it, that he may amuse himself and everybody else as well as he can. I felt satisfied, while I stood gazing on the man whom some intensely hate and others intensely love, that he had the affections of the people and his joy seemed to gratify them more than their own enjoyment. Every eye was upon him and following him round and round, and every little piece of his amusement was solid enjoyment to them. Strange world, strange folk!
>
> "At sundown, twelve guns were fired in honour of the Twelve Apostles, and at ten o'clock P.M. the band played 'Home Sweet Home,' which, however much it might indicate 'To your Tents, O Israel,' seemingly fell heedless on the ears of the multitude, as they danced and visited many hours after then. This, however, terminated the official programme."

It is worthy of note that in all these recreational hours there was no separation of classes, nor any age divisions. Young and old, children and babies shared with maturity and age—except that evening hours found babies and children asleep in some convenient corner. The amusements of Brigham Young's family and of the children of the pioneers, generally, merges so imperceptibly into the amusements of each other and of their elders that it was difficult to say where the line of age began and where it ended. Children went to picnics and parties with their parents as there was no one to leave them with, for everybody spent a reasonable part of the winter evening time in clean amusements. This was a great aid in keeping amusements sound and strictly within the bounds of propriety.

The aged were not forgotten. Early in church history it became the custom to entertain all the old people of the communities, at least once a year and in many cases oftener. Following is a story related by Samuel B. Warner:

> "At one time in the '60's, President Young and party came to Brigham City and very elaborate preparations were made for his entertainment and for his fellow travellers. The dinner was simply grand and the beautiful daughters of Zion had vied with each other as to which should look the prettiest and the sons as aids were ever ready to do their part. Brother

> Brigham looked at the tables and I thought he was displeased; but after a moment, while his beautiful features passed from a sort of half frown to a heavenly smile he said in very distinct tones:
>
> " 'Is Sister Mary Reese here?' That noble Welsh sister answered 'Yes.'
>
> "Then President Young said: 'Sister Reese, will you please go home and make a kettle of corn meal mush and add some milk for my dinner?' Something like ten or perhaps more of his party asked for the same treatment.
>
> "Then Brother Brigham said to President Snow, 'You send the teachers and brethren out and bring in the aged, the lame and blind and all your poor and let them have a good dinner and then give them a free ticket to the theatre that comes on to-night and then do this once every year in this city and our Heavenly Father will smile upon you and your city and bless you forever.'
>
> "It was done and his instructions were faithfully kept in Brigham City and now throughout Zion. While it may not have been this incident which led to the established Old Folks party, I have always thought it was this event that inspired that beautiful practice."

The custom of giving special entertainments for the aged people was more or less intermittently carried on in all the cities, towns and wards of the Church until 1875, when a general Old Folks Committee was formed of which C. R. Savage was the active and efficient chairman for many years. At least two entertainments are provided annually for all over seventy, and there are many to participate for the people are long-lived.

Brigham Young always remembered the widows and wives of men out on missions, when social invitations were sent out. They were guests of any and every public occasion. The poor and the needy (but they were comparatively few) were always remembered also. The Indians were welcomed. To the sick or "shut-ins" baskets were sent out. Another kindly custom was the quiet distribution of all picnic and party leftovers to the emigrants, to those who were in need, and to the mothers of large families.

In spite of the view that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, the Leader required of the people generally and his family in particular its strict observance in spirit and truth as a day set apart for special worship as well as for bodily and spiritual recuperation.

He did not countenance playing dance tunes on Sunday, neither did he compel young people to go to Church; his own children could stay home if they wished it so, but when home they must observe the Sabbath day in spirit. Boys could not play games nor race horses on the Sabbath, nor could girls make doll clothes; and so all usually went to meeting for the preaching was rarely dull and the music was always good.

If his own children were disobedient in this regard he was as quick to render judgment on them as upon the people in general. He could be severe too when he knew that rebellious boys needed severity and they sometimes did. The story is told by one of his sons of two of his rowdy boys who went galloping up and down the hill-side in his own home enclosure in the early '50's during the Sabbath services while he himself was preaching from the pulpit of the Bowery. There were no trees, no Lion House or other building to obstruct the view between the open spaces of the Bowery and the hill.

Brigham Young stopped his exhortation, left the pulpit and trounced those boys soundly to the approving silence of the congregation. Returning, he calmly picked up the thread of his discourse without alluding to the closed incident.

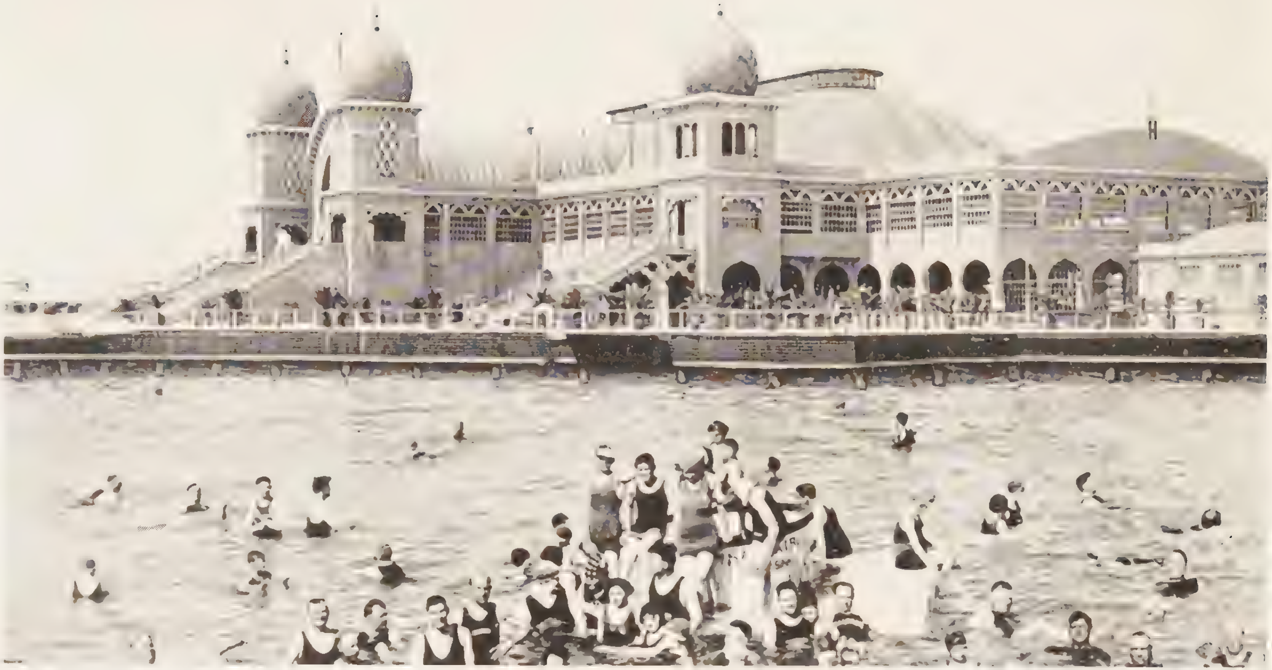
In the summer time, on holidays or on Saturdays, family parties went out to bathe at Black Rock in the Great Salt Lake. There were bath houses and a lodging house, as it took slow teams a day to go and a day to return. Bathing and swimming in Great Salt Lake were welcome variants of the usual Saturday picnic or canyon excursion. The water contains a higher percentage of salt than any other large body of water in the world, excepting the Dead Sea in Palestine. Nine mountain islands are found here, where sea-gulls nest and bird life abounds.

On their entrance into the Valley the pioneers discovered some fine hot springs of carbonated sulphur water. They made use of them and the people have continued to do so up to the present time. In the summer of 1850, a commodious bath house was built over the springs, boarding in one inner pool for women, an outer one for men and boys, with several private rooms fitted with wooden bath tubs. The springs are highly medicinal; had been used by the Indians for untold centuries and their healing virtues are of great value. Besides that, they furnished a winter swimming pool with hot baths for all. The Bath House was dedicated with prayer and religious services on November 27, 1850. The morning service was followed by a great afternoon and evening celebration of feasting and dancing, interspersed as usual by solos, fancy dancing, quartettes, and addresses by President Young and his associate brethren.

In front of this Bath House was an adobe cottage for the caretaker, and soon an immense dancing hall, also built of substantial adobe, was added, with a roomy dining-room and equipped with kitchens, all fitted with benches and tables. Public parties and even theatrical entertainments were given here, even after the completion of the Social Hall. Finally the city took over the whole management of this valuable health asset and to-day finds the springs capably and luxuriantly housed and arranged.

There were always and everywhere the summer joys of swimming in rivers and lakes, while sleighing and skating parties were winter pastimes. All his children had ice skates and sleds as well as summer roller skates. The winter sleighing parties at the Farm were always times of great delight.

There was not very much hunting and fishing indulged in by the early pioneers except when in need of food; everybody was too busy building homes, planting farms, raising stock, knitting, weaving, baking and churning for anybody, except children, to have time to roam much on the hills in search of rabbits and prairie chickens or an occasional bear away up in



BATHING IN GREAT SALT LAKE

the upper canyons. People were taught never to kill except where necessary for food only. The love of all God's creatures was inculcated always in the hearts of his family and people; boys were taught never to let animals or birds suffer in traps. He could never understand the pleasure of killing helpless creatures for the so-called "sport" it afforded. He hunted for souls to save, and he was a fisher of men to redeem. This was his labour and his recreation.

Since the Prophet's sanction of the quadrille band in Nauvoo days Brigham Young had understood the relation which could exist between work and recreation—even dancing. Associated with other forms of amusement dancing certainly had its place. Did not David "dance before the Lord"? It was the prostitution of these forms of physical enjoyment, not the pleasure itself, which was to be avoided and denounced. "The world considers it very wicked for a Christian to hear music and to dance," said the Leader on one occasion. "Music belongs to heaven, to cheer God, angels and men. . . . Music and dancing are for the benefit of holy ones, and all those who are not holy and righteous and who do not worship God, have no right to be here." Such was his belief and such his practice. The people were always encouraged to sing and dance their cares away—in moderation always.

Captain Stansbury, who attended a ball in Salt Lake City, in April, 1854, gives the following graphic description of the scene: "A larger collection of fairer and more beautiful women I never saw in one room. All of them were dressed in white muslin, some with pink and others with blue sashes. Flowers were the only ornaments in the hair. The utmost order and the strictest decorum prevailed. Polkas and waltzes were not danced; country dances, cotillions, quadrilles, etc., were permitted. At the invitation of Governor Young I opened the ball with one of his wives. The Governor, with a beautiful partner, stood *vis-a-vis*. An old-fashioned cotillion was danced with much grace by the ladies, and the Governor acquitted himself very well on the light fantastic toe. After several rounds of dancing, a march was played by the band, and a procession was formed; I conducted my first partner to the supper room, where I partook of a fine entertainment at the Governor's table."

Nor were the finer emotions sacrificed to the physical enjoyments. There were intellectual treats provided in the various philosophical, scientific and literary societies scattered throughout the valleys; while arts and artists were encouraged in the annual Fair exhibitions with consequent stimulant of prizes and honours.

The Public Library furnished both information and literary entertainment. To find Eastern newspapers, translations of foreign classics and hundreds of good histories and books of travel, not only in a public library, but scattered about in the homes of the people was an indication of their love for the best in literature. That was long years before the railway crossed the desert.

The Leader's visits to the settlements were made the occasion of great rejoicings. This was particularly the case during the last twenty years of his life. He would be accompanied on such trips by some of his associate brethren of the leading Quorums in the Church with their wives and sometimes sons and daughters. The people welcomed such visits and the occasions were celebrated by the towns as if they were public holidays. Work was suspended for the day; flags were displayed; the members of the town band and choruses donned uniforms and prepared to lead the procession. The Sunday School children, arrayed in their best, and carrying banners and flags, made the most striking part of the day's celebration. The presiding officers of the city and states, the women's organisations and the young people's associations grouped themselves in line and under the marshal of the day the parade marched to the edge of the town, the children lining the sidewalks sometimes for blocks, waving their little flags and singing the Sunday School welcoming songs. Quite frequently a mounted escort would go out to meet the party. The visitors were disposed comfortably in the homes of the people, meetings were scheduled, meeting-houses were crowded, and everybody had a good time. Most of all, Brigham Young enjoyed these intimate relations with the people who loved him because he loved them so well and so truly.

On one trip to the South, the long train of carriages was met at Kanarra, a settlement in Iron County, by Bishop Lorenzo Roundy. As President Young stopped his buggy to greet the people, the bishop was heard to say laughingly:

"President Young, you cannot leave this town to-night. If you attempt it, I will take a wheel off your buggy."

The Leader turned round and calling back to his family said:

"Bishop Roundy says he will take a wheel off my buggy if we do not stop here to-night. I guess we had better stop."

Stop they did, and in no time the band was serenading the party. The chickens were squawking, fires were blazing, corn bread was in course of preparation and the freshest and best buttermilk was ready for the President's table. A meeting was held there that night to a crowded house and next morning the President proceeded on his way south to St. George.

On another occasion, while making one of these annual visits to the settlements, a feast had been prepared in the bowery during the noon intermission. The Leader noted the crowd of children, elderly people and some Indians who could not be seated at the tables for lack of room. He arose and asked the Bishop and those who had prepared the feast if they would like his party to remain another day with them, providing a second feast for the occasion. Ready response was instantly and joyously given. Then "all those who could not find room to sit down at this table to-day, will be the guests for to-morrow," he announced calmly. The challenge was accepted with laughter and applause and the second day was better than the first.

People would have had in those grinding years of toil, too few holidays and far too little of the spirit of holiday-making which is the spirit of fellowship and socialised spiritual communion, but for Brigham Young's wise policy. He manifested even more godly inspiration in his carefully regulated social activities and associated pleasure than in his pulpit exercises. He kept the people busy, gave legitimate amusements full sway and encouraged the cultivation of every power, every gift and emotion of the human soul.

# XXIII

## LITERATURE AND THE DRAMA

Respect for the Printed Word—Church Records Kept from the Beginning—Members Enjoined to Keep Records—Shorthand Reports Encouraged—Pioneer Newspapers—Church Magazines—Drama and the Church—Early Dramatic Societies—The Social Hall—Built for Theatricals and Dancing—Salt Lake City Theatre—Dedicated with Special Prayers and Hymns—Uplifting Influence of the Stage—Other Uses for the Theatre.

PICTURED forms or symbols of varying shapes and sizes are the earliest manifestations of art. When nations or peoples modify or restrict sound and symbol according to their own racial or geographical lines, then, indeed, are close lines drawn about their civic, social and religious life. Peoples do not express, in colour or word-symbols, images which have no place in their own mental environment.

So it is not strange that of the four fundamental emotional expressions—painting, sculpture, music and literature, the last should predominate in all the art forms of these modern Pilgrims seeking new homes in the wilderness. Added to the arts of music and poetry was the joy in relaxing moments of leisure which found safest outlet in the art of dramatic representation, as well as in the social, communal contacts of proper dancing and of outdoor excursions.

Love of God and man, formed a basic need for printed material that should, mayhap, carry the Gospel message where its living exponents might not go. No man had a higher conception of the power of the spoken and written word than did Brigham Young. He admired and encouraged all writers. Educated himself by life rather than by books, he felt a profound respect for those whose spirits could respond in measured phrase to the "music of the spheres." They always found in him an admiring friend and supporter.

The Prophet was early given definite instructions about the importance of records and history. The Gospel must be published, said the Saviour. "Publish your glad tidings," rang in his ears. There were no secrets in Zion; all were glad to cry out aloud their joyous news! Brigham Young then and afterward followed these instructions. This was done in a day when all writing materials were scarce and costly, when general education was most primitive, even in the eastern American cities. The associates of the Prophet kept careful journals, and on the day the Church was organised a Church Historian and Recorder was appointed, which office has functioned continuously. The genealogy and individual history of all Church members were to be a matter of religious necessity, while the detailed genesis and growth of the Church itself, and of all its quorums, institutions, auxiliaries and missions were to be accurately recorded and preserved.

What a testimony of integrity is shown in the scrupulous care herein manifested to preserve every word, every act and date, associated with the rise and development of God's Latter Day Church. No fraud, no cheat or fool, would care to have an hourly record made of all his deeds or words. Yet that is what the Prophet did and counselled his successors to do. When news of the martyrdom reached Brigham Young at Boston in 1844, he requested Wilford Woodruff to be his historian from then on. The Prophet's example was studiously followed.

Very early, shorthand or phonography, as it was then called, was introduced into Utah. Wilford Woodruff had a peculiar system of his own, which none but himself could interpret; but George D. Watt, an English convert, and a skilled reporter, began about 1850 to report and later to print the selected sermons of Brigham Young and his associate leaders. A letter to the saints abroad, dated Salt Lake City, June 1, 1853, makes reference to Elder Watt and his shorthand as follows: "It is well known to many of you that Elder George D. Watt, by our counsel, spent much time in the midst of poverty and hardships to acquire the art of reporting in Phonography, which he has faithfully and fully accomplished; and he has been reporting the public Sermons, Discourses, Lectures, etc., delivered by the Presidency, the Twelve and others in this city, for nearly two years, almost without fee or reward. Elder Watt now proposes to publish a Journal of these Reports, in England, for the benefit of the saints at large, and to obtain means to enable him to sustain his highly useful position of Reporter. You will perceive at once that this will be a work of mutual benefit, and we cheerfully and warmly request your co-operation in the purchase and sale of the above-named Journal, and wish all the profits arising therefrom to be under the control of Elder Watt." This letter forms the preface of a very valuable publication of those early days, called the "Journal of Discourses." These volumes form invaluable source-material for the spoken and written word of the early leaders as well as for historical data. They were published in twenty-six volumes and continued until shortly after the death of Brigham Young.

This letter shows the intellectual hunger of the Leader for all the opportunities for a higher standard of educational advantages. It shows also the innate simplicity of a devout and clean man, who courted the white light of publicity on all his official words and acts; while it reflected no less, the pride and joy he felt in the great gifts of native eloquence and of the power to express high thoughts in the inspired language of the spiritual and intellectual giants who stood shoulder to shoulder with him.

From the earliest days on his preaching trips a competent stenographer was taken along unless there was a resident one where he was going. The people everywhere wanted to read in the *News*, the *Millennial Star* and the *Journal of Discourses*, those points of doctrine, counsel, and prophecy which he and his associates uttered. Every missionary leaving home was instructed to keep an accurate account of his labours; and in each country and branch a mission secretary was provided to record all important Church items. "Let every Elder keep a journal," was his instruction, "and gather historical facts concerning the Church and world, with specific dates, and present the same to the Historian; also, let the presiding officer of every emigrating company, immediately on arrival, see that his clerk presents the Recorder with a perfect list of the names of every soul, the number of wagons, teams, and every living thing in his camp."

Joseph Smith founded and patronised newspapers in Kirtland and Nauvoo. The earliest recorded effort to establish a newspaper or periodical was made by the gifted William W. Phelps, under the patronage of the Prophet Joseph. He established the *Evening and Morning Star* at Independence, Mo., in 1832. This periodical was transferred to Kirtland, after the mob had driven the people from Independence. In 1834, this paper was superseded by the *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland) which continued till 1837. This in turn gave way to the *Elder's Journal*, started by the Prophet Joseph in 1837, and this journal itself was transferred to Far West as the people fled before the mob. *Times and Seasons* was published in Nauvoo in 1839–46. In Europe the *Millennial Star* was established by Brigham Young and his associates in 1840, and has continued to this day, a weekly periodical now in its ninetieth volume.

When it is remembered that in those days newspapers and American literature generally were just emerging into years of accountability, it is marvellous that so deep an interest was taken in the development of the published word as was manifested by the Latter Day Saints and their leaders.

When driven from Nauvoo Brigham Young saw to it that a good printing press was brought with the company to Winter Quarters, and later to the Valley. In June, 1850, less than three years after entering the valley, *The Deseret News* made its appearance, with Willard Richards as editor. It was a small quarto, yet it was issued weekly and held a dignified position in the youthful commonwealth. It soon became a daily, and is the only pioneer newspaper published west of the Mississippi River which survives to the present day.

Since that day over a hundred papers and magazines have been established in the Church. In 1851 Apostle John Taylor founded *Zion's Panier* (Zion's Banner) at Hamburg, Germany, while Erastus Snow opened the *Scandinavian Star* in Copenhagen. These periodicals are still continued and are prosperous, much used messengers of Truth.

But prose writing was not the only expression of these early stalwarts. The charm of the lilting music of poetry, the expression of emotion in measured line and cadence, was known to Brigham Young, but his expressions were found in the stately poems of Job and David rather than the ephemeral lines of usual literary aspirants. He loved poetry, however, when wedded to music and always enjoyed and encouraged home writers.

There was much verse and some poetry written in the early days of the Church. Many of the early writers have several excellent poems and verses scattered through the old Kirtland, Nauvoo and Utah papers, and especially in the hymn book. These have entered into the life currents of a whole people and have dedicated the altars of churches and homes with a baptism of harmony.

John Lyon printed the first volume of poems in 1853, calling it *The Harp of Zion*, the proceeds of sale being dedicated to the Perpetual Emigration Fund. Then came two volumes of poems by Eliza R. Snow, the first one published in 1856, the second several years later. Truly was she abreast of the times even though far removed from so-called civilisation. Biography, history and travel have appeared in great numbers to the upbuilding of the people.

One of the first women's newspapers in the world, the *Woman's Exponent,* was established in Salt Lake City in June, 1872. It was edited and conducted by women for woman's progress. Brigham Young encouraged the foundation of this woman's paper, realising the possible benefits to be derived from this literary opportunity.

He constantly used the power and influence of the press to promote home industry, agriculture, to defend the people in their civil rights, to expound doctrine, and to encourage and develop talent wherever artists or writers were found.

From its organisation the Church has taken cognisance of those human impulses which are expressed in love of harmony and melody, of drama as enacted upon a stage, and of those who prepare, compose and produce these and other works of art. All are legitimate and worthy of encouragement; none are debased, all are honourable. From the scene-shifter to the man who plays Macbeth, none but are necessary and noble, if they obey the law of life in its highest and purest expressions.

The Prophet had formed a dramatic company in Nauvoo and among those who took part in these primitive theatricals were Brigham Young, Erastus Snow, and George A. Smith. A prominent tragedian from Philadelphia, Thomas A. Lyne, came to Nauvoo and finally joined the Church. Under the direction of the Prophet Joseph, Lyne organised a very creditable company and produced some popular plays, among them was "Pizarro". Brigham Young played the High Priest in this production and a singularly gifted young Yankee boy named Hyrum B. Clawson was one of the stage hands in that performance. That boy was later a leading genius of dramatic art in Utah for many years.

The love of wholesome and artistic theatricals was a part of the temperament and policy of Brigham Young. He had never heard of the miracle plays in the Middle Ages. He knew little or nothing about the struggles of the exponents of drama in Europe or America. He did, however, know that false standards could degenerate all art and corrupt public morals.

The first theatrical performance in Utah was given in the Bowery, a very reminiscent name for a New York theatre-goer of those days. "The Bowery" in this case was a summer place of worship which stood on the Temple Block near where the big Tabernacle now stands. Here, in June, 1850, less than three years after the arrival of the pioneers, with the aid of a little home-made scenery and a little pioneer furniture, were the first plays presented to a Salt Lake City audience.

Several plays were given during this first dramatic season and were creditably performed, affording pleasure both to the audiences and actors; which gratification, however, was the only remuneration the actors received, for it must be remarked that all pioneer dramatic efforts were entirely voluntary on the part of the company and payment except for lights and equipment was unheard of. Over a thousand spectators witnessed each of these performances, proving the interest felt by these state builders in the civilising agency of the drama. The orchestra which played in connection with this first dramatic company was drawn from the ranks of the historic "Nauvoo Brass Band." William Pitt, the captain of the band, was the leader of the orchestra. He could "play the fiddle like an angel," handling the bow with his left hand at that. In the fall of the year 1850, the Musical and Dramatic Association was formed and this institution became responsible for both music and plays in the early days of the settlement.

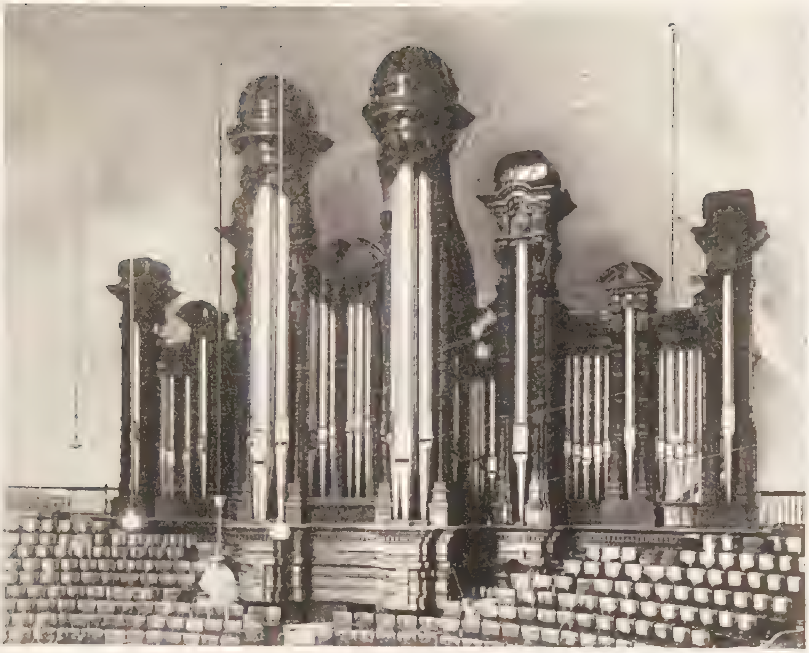
In 1852, five years after coming to the Valley, the Social Hall was dedicated and on New Year's Day, 1853, it was opened for theatrical and social purposes. Soon after its dedication, regular performances of the Musical and Dramatic Association were instituted. The Association occupied the Social Hall at least once a week in the winter, playing in the

Bowery during the summer. Such plays as Bulwer's classic "The Lady of Lyons," Robert Macaire's "The Dead Shot," "The Triumph of Innocence," and others popular at the time were all given in a very creditable manner. All amusements, dancing and drama were opened and closed with prayer and oftentimes interrupted with a short discourse by some of the leaders on an appropriate topic. Brigham Young and his family, as well as his associates in leadership in the Church, were faithful attendants at these activities.

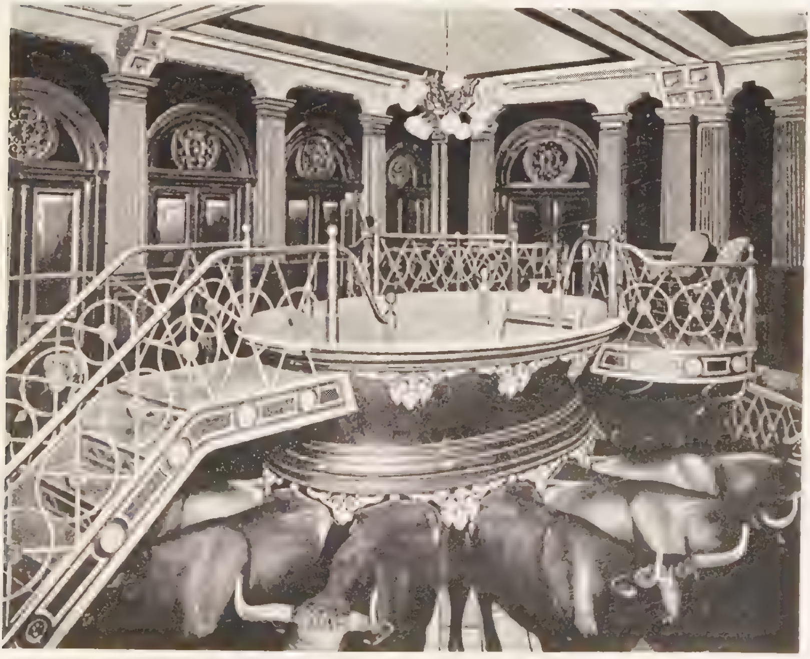
From 1852 to 1857 the Social Hall continued to be the principal place of amusement for the people of Salt Lake City, as well as those who came in from various parts of the Territory. Those living at a distance and visiting the city either on business or pleasure (which were generally combined) deemed themselves extremely fortunate if there chanced to be a play "on the boards" during their sojourn in the city. In 1857, however, amusements as well as business of all kinds received a sudden and severe shock from which it took a year or more to recover. The Echo Canyon War was on and for a time sadness and gloom filled the hearts of all.

In the late 'fifties there was formed in Salt Lake City a new dramatic company known as "The Mechanics' Dramatic Association." It was aptly named for its members were all busy people giving their days to intensive labour and their evenings to the finer things of life. They played in a small hall which was really a large room in a private house, known as "Bowring's Theatre." It was indeed a "little theatre" in fact as well as name. The scenery was painted by a gifted artist, and it became a centre of very fine dramatic presentations.

Brigham Young had heard of the endeavours of this new company and was interested, as he was in everything pertaining to the uplift of the people. One day the director of the association met President Young and told him that on a certain evening he would like the Leader and his family to visit the "little theatre" and see what they were doing.



THE TABERNACLE ORGAN, SALT LAKE CITY



THE BAPTISMAL FONT IN THE TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY

The President responded genially: "Why can't Brother Heber and I come this evening? What are you playing?"

"Luke the Labourer," was the answer.

"We'll come this evening," said Brigham Young, no doubt expecting to catch them without any special preparation. The brethren attended and were greatly pleased.

"Immediately after this visit to 'Bowring's Theatre'" says Mr. Tullidge, "President Young told Hyrum B. Clawson to organise the Deseret Dramatic Association and to unite with it the Mechanics' Dramatic Association. He also declared he would build a great new theatre for as he sagaciously observed the people must have amusements. He announced in meeting one Sunday his intention to build such a theatre, much to the gratification of his congregation, saying they 'would be able to go there occasionally and forget their troubles in a good, hearty laugh.'" Thus was inaugurated the famous Salt Lake City Theatre known and revered by the dramatic profession from coast to coast for three-quarters of a century.

On March 6, 1862, the new theatre was dedicated with such ceremonies as indicated the importance attached to this avenue of human endeavour. Special musical numbers and hymns were composed for the occasion. No better proof of the seriousness with which the people looked upon the mission of the drama than the fact that their Leader was himself President of the Deseret Dramatic Association.

The theatre was formally opened on the following Saturday evening, March 8, when the plays "The Pride of the Market" and "State Secrets" were presented. The people anxiously awaited the opening night. The performance was advertised to begin at 7 o'clock. At 5 o'clock hundreds were at the doors waiting to get in and before the curtain rose every available seat and standing room was taken.

"Thus at the very outset the Salt Lake City Theatre was elevated to the caste of a sacred dramatic temple, and made a High School of the public for the study of human nature which was the very object of all the plays of our Solomon of the Anglo-Saxon stage. Dramatic history has to record that here was a man of no art culture beyond that which was self-evolved who lifted the theatre to its very highest conception." Brigham Young loved Shakespeare, and his plays were a part of every winter's repertoire. But cheap gory melodrama founded on crime and eroticism he abhorred.

The theatre was so much a part of the semi-religious communal functioning that men and women who took part did so as if on a special mission. Dramatic gifts and talents were on an exact plane with architectural expression and literary powers, and received the respectful admiration of all the people. Conduct unbecoming a church member was not tolerated within the confines of any theatre in Zion. Smoking and drinking were prohibited. Visiting stars found an atmosphere in the Salt Lake City Theatre which inhibited any display of acquired vices or commonly accepted artistic faults, even those of temper or tongue—so-called temperamental exhibitions.

One of the greatest of those early-day artists, Julia Dean Hayne, at the close of her farewell performance after a year's residence as leading lady of this historic house, attests the truth of the influence permeating this Temple of Art:

> "Ladies and Gentlemen: It is but seldom I lose the artist in the woman, or permit a personal feeling to mingle with my public duties; yet, perhaps, in now taking leave I may be pardoned if I essay to speak of obligations which are lasting. . . . To President Young, for very many courtesies to a stranger, lone and unprotected, I return those thanks which are hallowed by their earnestness; and I trust he will permit me, in the name of my art, to speak my high appreciation of the order and beauty that reign throughout this house.
>
> "I would the same purity prevailed in every temple for the drama's teachings. Then, indeed, the grand object would be achieved, and it would become a school
>
> To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,
> To raise the genius and to mend the heart."

To one who, like the writer, was a child participant and performer within those dedicated walls, the memories of those days hang side by side with pictures of home, school and meeting house. The presence of Brigham Young filled the atmosphere. You would not be surprised at any moment to see him, at rehearsal or performance, step quietly around a scene or enter the Green Room with his dignified step and approving countenance. You just felt happy, never startled, when his genial approval added the final touch to your careful practising or performance. His influence extended to every nook and corner of the Church in social activity as in religious life.

The theatre was not used alone for drama, but occasionally with a temporary floor laid down, it served for legislative balls and great receptions. Many lectures were heard in its historic walls. Here appeared Mark Twain, Henry Ward Beecher, Thomas Nast, Artemus Ward, Sir Henry M. Stanley, Anna Dickinson, Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, and many other famous lecturers. Operas and concerts were also given. Ole Bull played and Parepa Rosa sang here, and here also were performed the many splendid renditions of the great oratorios, "The Messiah," "The Creation," and many others.

As Mr. Tullidge aptly says: "Historically illustrated we may say that the Salt Lake City Theatre rose as the monument of our Rocky Mountain civilisation."

## XXIV

### BRIGHAM YOUNG AND EDUCATION

His Love for Knowledge and Truth—His Own Meagre "Education"—Missed No Opportunity to Learn—His Views concerning Education—The Source of All Wisdom—First Schools in the Valley—Studying Children's Physical Needs—Corporal Punishment Forbidden—Higher Education—State University Projected—Co-education—Pioneer School for Parents—Brigham Young a Student—Union Academy and Hall of Science—State University Idea Revived—Humble Start—Dr. John R. Park as Principal—Progress of the University—Problem of Non-religious Teaching—Church Schools Introduced—First One Founded at Provo—Dr. Karl G. Maeser Takes Charge—School's Rapid Growth—Other Church Schools.

THE acquisition of knowledge, which is an important part of education, was one great aim and object of the Prophet and his associates. Joseph was early taught of the Lord that the Church was "to teach one another diligently" and to seek all knowledge. They were to "obtain a knowledge of history and of countries and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man, all this for the salvation of man." Moreover, the vision of knowledge and intelligence reached out beyond the confines of this limited earth, and the disciples were given the stimulating promise that "If a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come."

Intelligence is not confused with schooling or so-called "education" in the minds of the Latter Day Saints. Intelligent people are not always school-educated people, nor are school-educated people always intelligent. The Lord gave a whole revelation on the vital relation of intelligence to truth, and of truth to Godliness. In that revelation He says: "Intelligence or the light of truth is not created, neither can be." Again: "The glory of God is intelligence or, in other words, light and truth." In that same revelation truth is defined. The philosophers, ancient and modern, have sought to analyse truth, but have ended their researches usually with the age-old query "What is truth?" The Lord Himself solves the problem. He says: "Truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were and as they are to come."

Brigham Young loved knowledge and truth better than he loved his own life. Education and the use of intelligence were as much a part of his life scheme as were prayer and song. Indeed, it was more; it was a part of his religious aspiration. "Every accomplishment," said he, "every polished grace, every useful attainment in mathematics, music, and in all science and art belong to the Saints, and they should avail themselves as expeditiously as possible of the wealth of knowledge the sciences offer to every diligent and persevering student."

He had only little schooling himself, eleven days he used to say, and beyond that only the training which he obtained after he was a grown man by reading and contact with educated people. It is true that he was taught letters and primary educational truths by his mother. Also he had inherited that profound thirst for knowledge which could only be satisfied by the daily absorbing of facts and the reasons why facts were facts. The receiving station of his mind was attuned to knowledge in the universe and he received constant accretions all his life from association with men and the contact with and assembling of human and physical forces. Like the Prophet Joseph, he learned of God through men and he learned truths concerning men, through the revelations of God. He was truly self-educated by early daily intercourse with the Prophet and above all by the Master Educator of the Universe who opens the book of experience to his teachable pupils and spreads upon the pages of world-whirling events, the symbols of progress which need the light of revelation to quicken them into profound educative possibilities.

A School of the Prophets, for the study of theological principles revealed in ancient and modern times, especially as such truths applied to life on the earth, was organised by the Prophet in the winter of 1832–33. This school was later held in the Kirtland Temple and learned men were engaged to teach these earnest seekers after truth. Brigham Young joyfully attended; he missed no opportunity for self-improvement. Lectures were attended by fathers and mothers, and this is perhaps the pioneer effort made for adult education in America. A Temple dedicated to God's service on the Sabbath was hallowed ground for the week-day study of science and the arts, for music was taught here also.

Brigham Young studied men rather than books, yet he had constant intercourse with the best thought of the ages, for he read the Scriptures daily and in later years had them read to him daily. He loved to hear men who had been "educated" express thought in cultured and eloquent phrases, especially if their words were informed and inspired.

His vocabulary was wonderfully extensive for a man who had been placed in his circumstances. One day the writer learned his secret. Somebody had used a word with which he was unfamiliar. He sent me at once to the dictionary and had me read to him carefully the meaning of the word "autonomy" several times and then copy it on a slip of paper and give it to him. He folded the paper and placed in in his spectacle case. The next Sunday in his sermon I heard him speak of the "Autonomy of Russia" and I knew that he had made the word his own. He had acquired the habit of copying the definition of any new word (or one new to him) on a slip of paper; and a conversation well guided, or a later public discourse would furnish a form in which to wrestle with the word and make it his own through use.

He was always a slow reader and a poor penman, but he loved knowledge and acquired it from every source. His early associates in Port Byron, before he joined the Church, used to refer to him as "a man who could be found in the evenings or on the Sabbath Day studying the Scriptures or reading histories." What he might have been had he received the education of schools and books it is idle to speculate.

His own words on the subject of education are most interesting and enlightening. The following excerpts are taken from sermons delivered by him at different times during the early days of Utah history, and give a clear understanding of principles which guided him in the establishment of the schools of this state.

> "When we speak of education, it is not to be understood that it alone consists in a man's learning the letters of the alphabet, in being trained in every branch of scholastic lore, in becoming proficient in the knowledge of the sciences, and a classical scholar, but also in learning to classify himself and others.
>
> "The first great principle that ought to occupy the attention of mankind, that should be understood by the child and the adult, and which is the mainspring of all action, whether people understand it or not, is the principle of improvement. No matter what their pursuits are, in what nation they are born, with what people they have been associated, what religion they prefer, what politics they hold, this is the mainspring of the actions of the people, embracing all the powers necessary in performing the duties of life. 'Shall I sit down and read the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Covenants all the time?' says one. 'Yes, if you please, and when you have done so, you may be nothing but a sectarian after all.' It is your duty to study to know everything upon the face of the earth in addition to reading those books.
>
> "We are in a great school, and we should be diligent to learn, and continue to store up the knowledge of heaven and of earth, and read good books, although I cannot say that I would recommend the reading of all books, for it is not all books which are good. Read good books, and extract from them wisdom and understanding as much as you possibly can, aided by the Spirit of God."

The following extract is from an epistle written in 1848 sent to the saints in all the world and is especially directed to missionaries who were to return home in due course; that they use their time and talents for the best good of their people whether at home or abroad:

> "It is very desirable that all the saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education —every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children and cause them to love to learn to read; and, also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc., to present to the General Church Recorder, when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be gleaned to compile the most valuable works, on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generation."

On another occasion he said:

> "This is a question which I would like the scientific and philosophic world to answer. Where do you get your knowledge from? I can answer the question: they get it from that Supreme Being, a portion of whose intelligence is in each and every one. They have it not independently; it was not there until put there. They have the foundation, and they can improve and add knowledge to knowledge, wisdom to wisdom, light to light, and intelligence to intelligence. This power to increase in wisdom and intelligence so that we can know things for ourselves is within each one of us.
>
> "Now I ask the wise, where did you get your wisdom? Was it taught you? Yes, I say it was taught you. By your professors at college? No, it was taught by the influence of the spirit that is in man, and the inspiration of the Spirit of God giveth it understanding; and every creature can thus add intelligence to intelligence. We all know that if we learn one page of a book to-day, we can learn another to-morrow, and yet retain that which we learned previously; and so we can go on step by step, from day to day, improving the faculties with which God has endowed us, until we are filled with the knowledge of God."

The raging battle between Fundamentalists and Modernists was but a tiny speck on the horizon when these truths were taught by this great Leader. Darwin was engaged in writing his *Origin of Species* in 1851–59; and many of the present accepted theories of science were undreamed of then. However, consider the sound philosophy and learning thus expressed by Brigham Young and the early leaders of this Church. They were not worried about evolution as such. But through the revelation of God to the Prophets they were permitted to understand that as matter is eternal so is intelligence; it has never been created neither can be, but is from eternity to eternity. And throughout eternity growth is possible, for nothing in the universe is static. Hence they were forerunners of the glorious principle of *Eternal Progression.*

Said Brigham Young:

> "I shall not cease learning while I live, nor when I arrive in the spirit-world; but shall there learn with greater facility; and when I again receive my body, I shall learn a thousand times more in a thousand times less time, and then I do not mean to cease learning but shall still continue my researches."

The people of this Church have always cherished knowledge and have sacrificed time and means when necessary, for the cause of education. One of the first acts of Brigham Young's administration after the martyrdom of the Prophet in 1844, was to reopen the schools of Nauvoo and to encourage every possible teacher to continue that good work. When driven from Nauvoo and resting beside the Missouri River, schools were taught, under his direction, in Winter Quarters. Children were never left to run at large nor did they ever lose an opportunity for acquiring knowledge properly and regularly while he lived.

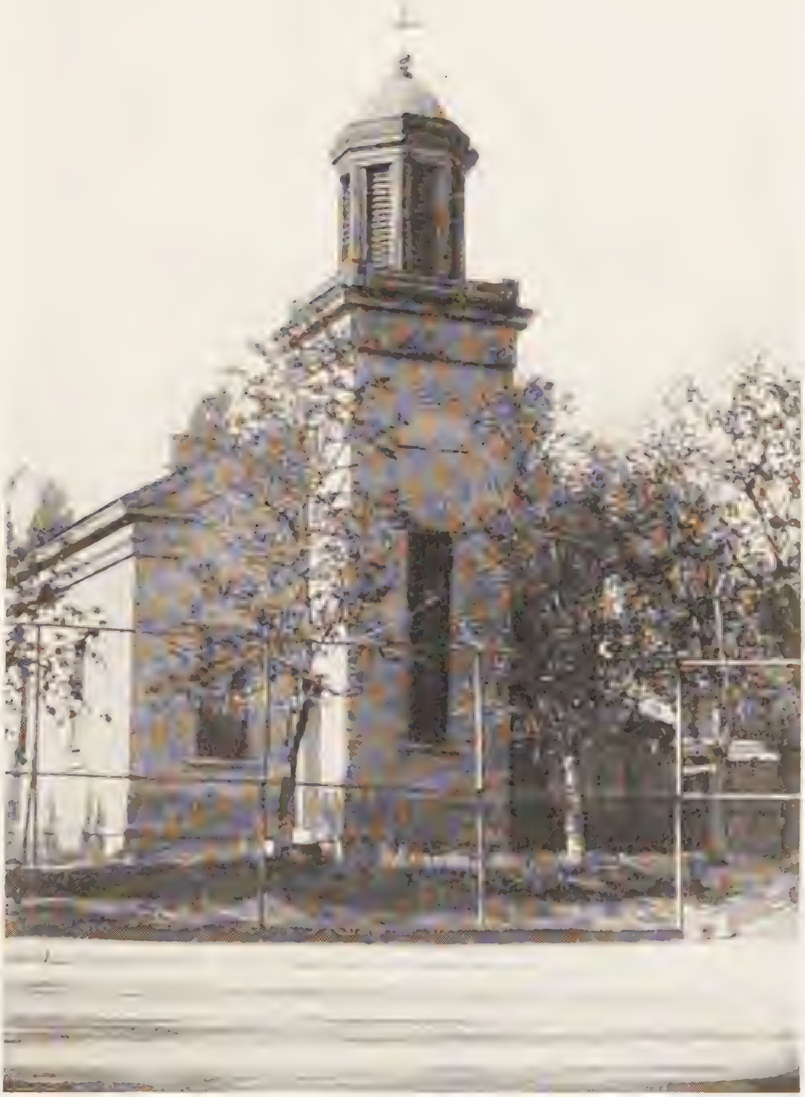
Even in crossing the plains, if the camp lingered a few days, primers were brought out, children were drilled in their A. B. C.'s, and other necessary subjects were taught to the older ones. They also read the Scriptures, the Bible, or Book of Mormon, passing the book around the circle for each child to read one verse. "Spelling schools," that New England form of literary sport was a frequent and favorite diversion for youth and grown-ups.

On reaching the Valley, a little school was opened by a cultured woman, Mary Dilworth (Hammond). Her tent on the west side of the old Fort in October, 1847, was crowded with children and youths of all ages. The seats were sawed-off logs, and her desk was a small camp table. During the winter season, Burr Frost opened school also in the Fort for the older ones: adult education again.

As the people in the Salt Lake Valley moved out in the spring and summer of 1848 on to their own home places, building houses here and there, schools were opened in the meeting-houses, until regular school-houses could be built. Thus again a pioneer custom antedates what modern educators are coming to advocate; the daily use of school buildings, and the use of churches as social centers. This practice spread to all parts of the Territory. The first houses built for public use in all the pioneer settlements of these desert wilds were combined school-houses and meeting-houses. To this day, a traveller can determine by the familiar Church and school-house the fact whether or not any settlement in Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, or indeed any of the Western States, is largely Mormon in population.

The few men who had large families, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells, arranged for private schools for their numerous children. Always the children of Brigham Young were kept in school, if not prevented by illness. In the earliest days in Utah a small adobe house was built near the Log Row for his wife, Zina D. Young, and there she at once opened a school in 1848–49. The children met in her living-room where her little baby girl ran about or was kept quiet on the bed hugging her rag doll. When the Lion House was finished in 1856, a large room on the lower floor was turned over to school purposes. Many orphan children were welcomed to this school as well as some of the neighbours' little ones. Later, as the family increased a special school-house was built.

Brigham Young put his usual initiative and constructive



BRIGHAM YOUNG'S SCHOOL HOUSE

ability into its form and equipment. Direct light was not good for children's eyes, so the windows were built high enough from the ground to make the light fall indirectly upon the desk. The ceiling was high and had an elliptical roof so that the sound could be carried easily and light was reflected from the softly tinted walls. Green shutters were attached to each window for storm and shade purposes. The green desks were planned by the leader himself and were made to fit the backs and feet of the children who used them. An interesting indication of his care for details is evidenced in the benches and desks; and in some instances the floors themselves were sloped or pitched towards the platform to permit all to see and hear during school hours. Where on earth at this time had children's physical needs been so carefully considered?

Corporal punishment was never permitted and woe be to the man who tried it. He himself would and did punish his boys if and when they needed it. But whipping in school was not approved by him or his associated leaders. One master, whether in ignorance of the rule, or driven to unmindful distraction by the mischievous behavior of two of the Leader's sons, chastised them rather brutally. The whole childish masculine population promptly rose in rebellion and their teacher was roughly handled, much to his disgust and mortification. He was summarily dismissed, which must have been to him a mingled relief and annoyance. But as Brigham Young could usually control his children, or any one else's children, with one steady look, perhaps it was hard for him to understand why others could not do the same. If there was any punishment needed he preferred to do that himself.

Learning his own lessons through the storm of bitter persecution and stress of constant sacrifice, Brigham Young longed to save his loved ones—the youth of his people—from the necessity of becoming educated only in the stern school of experience as he had been. Perhaps in that delight which he felt for superiority in any form he had an exaggerated conception of the majesty of what was then called "book-learning." Be that as it may, his own splendidly poised perceptions weighed the "book-learning" of all the ages in the balance, and he found it too often inadequate and rather barren of results. Hence he was a pioneer, one might say, in industrial education. "Book-learning" must be so definitely attached to real life and real problems that there should be no broken links between the school door and the shop, farm, or kitchen. Boys were given that empirical education which comes of summer courses with the hoe and plough. The girls achieved domestic skill under the trained tutelage of their mothers.

Even so, he did not lose sight of the value and mental development that is to be gained through the so-called "cultural subjects." In his own family, as for the people generally, he aimed high for artistic advantages. In those very early pioneering days music was taught and there were language and drawing classes. He also introduced "gymnastics," now known as physical education. Nothing was too good, no effort was too great, no opportunity too expensive when knowledge and culture were the possible results.

His mind was concerned with a threefold educational problem: training for the mature men and women like himself, who loved and eagerly sought knowledge. Second, there was vital need of a pedagogical school where future teachers might receive suitable training. Third, the children of all ages must be put in school, the older ones in the winters when farms and homes could best spare them and the younger children throughout the year. Added to this was the need for industrial training for both boys and girls.

At the meeting of the first legislators in 1850, only three years after the entrance into the Valley, a law was passed authorising the creation of a University. This was prior to the recognition of Utah as a territory by the Government at Washington. The "University of Deseret," as it was called, was granted an annual appropriation of $5,000 a year for twenty years. Another section of the act stated that as soon as the necessary funds were available provision should be made for orphans and other needy worthy persons whereby they could obtain an education gratis: so that in design and purpose these pioneers were forerunners in the great undertaking of education for "all the children of all the people."

Thus was organised the first University west of the Missouri River. The curriculum provided not only for modern and ancient languages, but also for astronomy, geology, agriculture, engineering and all branches of science and letters. Theoretically, this was one of the first of the higher institutions to recognise agriculture as being on a par with other well-recognised sciences.

It is one thing, however, to found an institution on paper, and by vote; it is quite another matter to set it up and put it in successful operation. In 1855 Congress granted to the University 46,080 acres of the public lands as a nucleus for school funds. This was added to at a later time. But for many years thereafter public lands were practically valueless since there was no money value on them at that time and for years thereafter. A site was selected, then a barren waste two miles east of the little settlement, which is to-day the picturesque home of the University.

Since no public building was available a private home belonging to Mrs. Julia Ives Pack, was offered and gladly accepted. The first term opened on November 11, 1850, the fee being eight dollars a quarter. The school, however, was soon removed to the upper room of the Council House, with an enrolment of some forty pupils of both sexes. This fledgling of the University was called a "Parent School" and was in reality an "embryo university."

The founding of a Parents' School for the training of teachers and heads of families was a new thing in educational history. Among the pupils was Brigham Young himself. "I want to have schools," he said, "to entertain the minds of the people and draw them out to learn the arts and sciences. Send the old children to school and the young ones also; there is nothing I would like better than to learn chemistry, botany, geology, and mineralogy, so that I could tell what I walk on, the properties of the air I breathe, what I drink, etc."

The death of Orson Spencer in 1855, who had been appointed Chancellor, a most scholarly man and a graduate of the Theological College at Hamilton, New York State, as well as the Union College in Schenectady; and the absence in Europe of Orson Pratt, another very able scholar and a distinguished scientist, and a member of the Board of Regents, left the territory without advanced instructors. So, for some time, the ambitious project of carrying on the newly-formed university proceeded rather fitfully. Then Indian troubles, grasshopper invasions, the Echo Canyon War and the move South helped to divert the attention of the Leaders from their cherished object. Thus the state was left educationally to the primary and ungraded higher academical classes scattered here and there, as suitable teachers were found. The common schools, however, were seldom suspended.

The men who had composed the Board of Regents, however, with the changing personnel from time to time, were given control of the school interests in Salt Lake City and throughout the Territory, acting practically as a Territorial Board of Education.

The Leader was much exercised over the fact that the cause of higher education was rather slow of fruition, and mainly through his efforts the Union Academy was established as well as the Seventies Hall of Science. The first named institution opened its doors to scholars in 1860, under the general supervision of Professor Orson Pratt. "No fees were charged to those who studied algebra, surveying, astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and modern languages." About this time Bishop Hoagland, of the Fourteenth Ward, opened an evening free school, where "writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and history were taught." The Hall of Science was finished on Christmas Day, 1854, and it served its purpose for many years and was a landmark in the city for nearly half a century. It was virtually "a school, academy, and seminary in one." Here, too, and also in the Tabernacle, many public lectures were given on history, astronomy, geology and like subjects.

There were many literary and debating societies founded in those early years. All of them, industrial, agricultural, musical, dramatic and philosophical, were intended to emphasise the educational development of this truth-learning and truth-loving people. There can be no charge of narrowness on spiritual and scientific subjects laid at the door of these early leaders, when the truth is made known concerning them and their efforts to establish education on the fundamental laws of God and Nature, such as is indicated in these pioneer efforts to study the truth and all of its many out-growths.

Although until the 'sixties, the ambitious plans of a fully equipped university had been impossible of attainment, the valleys were now filling up with new blood. Furthermore, non-Mormons, miners, merchants and travellers, resting in the territory between their journeys to and from California and Oregon were making sharp cleavage between Church and State educational interests. This was but natural and was duly recognised by Brigham Young. It brought the question of higher education to the fore again, and it was these conditions that were mainly instrumental in the reopening of the University. It began with two departments—commerce and literature—on December 2, 1867. Pupils crowded the doors and the school was both popular and profitable.

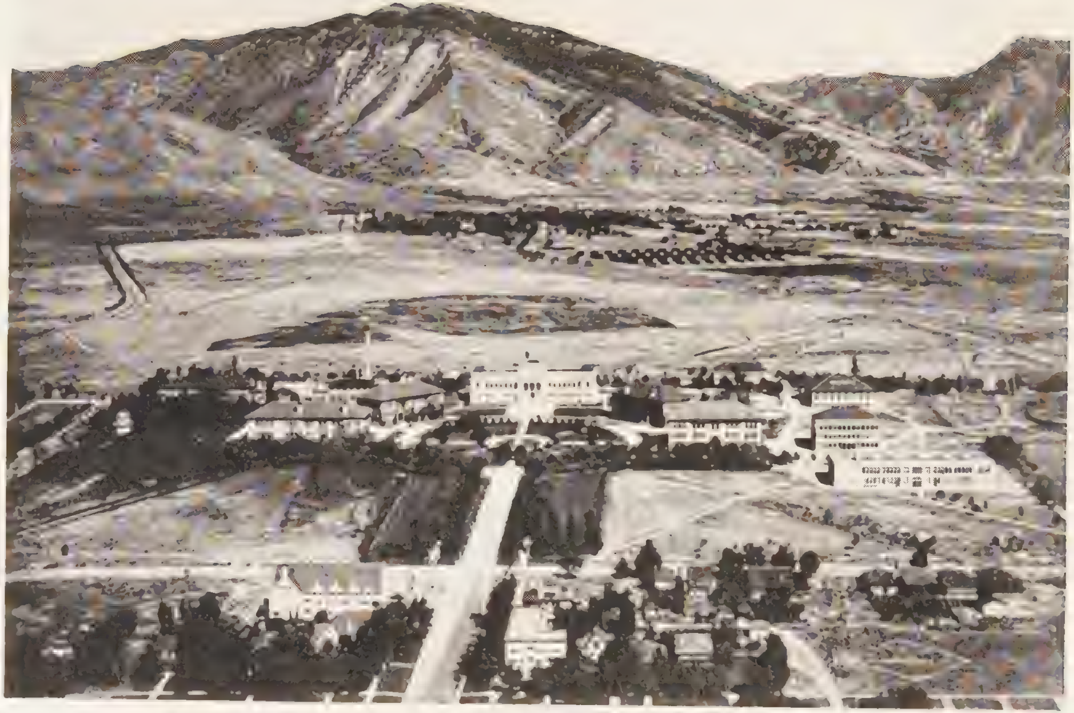
Still, and yet, the hovering vision of a real college, a university in fact, rested on the horizon of Brigham Young's mind. Such a school under conditions existing in 1868–70 must be under the direction of a man and men and women who would love God and truth, but who would be wise enough to subordinate theological questions to intellectual inquiry, yet never for a moment enthroning doubt on a pedestal. Dr. John R. Park, an eminent scholar, a graduate of the Wesleyan University and of medicine, was appointed Principal of the University. We read in his journal: "December 10, 1869, President Brigham Young to-day visited the school, also the Chancellor D. H. Wells, and both spoke to the students encouraging them to diligence in the acquisition of knowledge and learning. The President expressed himself well pleased with the exercises and the school."

It is most interesting to note that under the direction of these wise leaders, all the schools of Utah from the first grade to the University were entirely co-educational: boys and girls, men and women, should always have equal opportunity for advancement and growth. The attendance record for 1869–70 gives 546 as the total number, 307 males, 239 females. This is a high per capita college attendance proving that higher education was valued by great numbers of the youth of that day.

The new University prospered and grew from the very first. The Mormon youth were eager for higher knowledge and broader culture. They flocked into the school, crowding it out of first one building, then out of two, till finally a whole campus was needed to provide for many avenues of mental enrichment demanded by wide-visioned parents and knowledge-hungry students.

Desirous of becoming acquainted with the best the world had to offer in education, arrangements were made in 1871–73 for Dr. Park to go on a mission to visit schools in America and Europe. During his absence Miss Ida Ione Cook became acting President and her administration was capable and brilliant. She is probably the first woman in the United States to occupy such a position of educational leadership.

Such was the interest of Brigham Young in education that



THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, SALT LAKE CITY AS SEEN FROM AN AEROPLANE, WITH FORT DOUGLAS IN THE BACKGROUND

he made it his business to know intimately every school teacher in the city, his or her history, genealogy, associations, ideals and methods. New angles on old educational themes always commanded his instant attention. The higher processes of imparting knowledge were always a fascinating mystery to him, and he frequently visited the city and country schools throughout his travels, where he would linger to hear teachers impart and pupils receive knowledge.

He maintained and taught that to be complete, education must train and develop the spirit or soul of man as well as his mind and his body. He also understood that education to be entirely adequate must prepare young people for the life they must live and thus must combine training for the hand and for the soul as well as for the mind.

The coming of the railway in 1869, together with the influx of strangers and speculators caused the Leader's mind to dwell particularly upon the establishment of Church Schools where the Gospel could be taught regularly and properly. An American state school must adhere to non-religious standards. Then, as now, teachers and parents were beset with anxieties over young people who must acquire their public school education without a trace of religious instruction.

As the training at the University in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, focused around science and intellectual studies, Brigham Young conceived the rather unique idea of establishing a school which should combine religious studies, book-learning, and manual work in about equal proportions, and all teaching was to be permeated with a formal attempt to have the pupils understand their relation to their God as well as their duty to their fellow men. He therefore and thereafter founded a whole system of education based on these three ideals which has survived to the present day.

The first school was launched in Provo, just south of Salt Lake City. On October 16, 1875, he signed the deeds for the purchase of a building for a combined Industrial and Religious

School called the Brigham Young Academy. The school was formally opened on August 27, 1876. When Dr. Karl G. Maeser, the President, asked for instructions, Brigham Young simply replied: "Brother Maeser, whatever you teach, even the multiplication tables, do it with the spirit of the Lord." The institution grew and prospered. It is known to-day as the Brigham Young University and is a part of the Church School system.

As it was found impossible for all who desired to attend the Provo institution, the Leader decided to establish other Church Schools. On July 4, 1877, one month prior to his death, he deeded to a board of trustees a tract of land containing nine thousand six hundred and forty-two acres, situated southwest of the city of Logan, the rents, profits and issues of said land to be used for the maintenance of an institution of learning, to be known as the Brigham Young College in Logan. The deed of trust is a replica of the one in Provo. President Young also arranged for a Church School in Salt Lake City. His will provided that a whole square of land in the heart of the city was to be used for the erection of such buildings as would form the nucleus of such a school. This school is now, as are the others, a part of the school system of the Church itself, all open to the students of both sexes.

This much must be admitted; Brigham Young laid a sure and broad foundation in the pioneer vales of Utah for the educational system of his people. That he understood the full meaning of education is proved by his life as well as by his precepts. This is his masterly definition of education (which was inscribed on the portals of the Utah Building in the California Exposition): "Education is the power to think clearly, the power to act well in the world's work, and the power to appreciate life."

# XXV

## ATTITUDE TO WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES

Comparison of Man's and Woman's Sphere—Equality, but Headship Necessary—Woman as Creator of Home Morale—Our Mother in Heaven—Women's Relationship to the Priesthood—A Single Standard of Virtue—Civil Franchise—Pioneer Women Voters—Co-education—First Organization of Women in the Church—The Relief Society—A Woman at the Helm—Attempt to Standardise Dress—Scope and Work of the Society—Saving Grain—Women's Co-operative Stores—Female Nurses and Doctors—Retrenchment and Mutual Improvement—Advice to Mothers—Woman's Greatest Responsibility.

THE equal life values of men and women and the importance of woman's contribution to human progress, was recognised by Brigham Young who knew that a measure of public activity would deepen woman's life courses and broaden her social vision.

Equality of individual status is rightly the basis of Church as well as of all civic relationships; but this does not, cannot always apply to functioning of the individual in marriage or in the Church association of two or more persons. When questions of economic, social or religious import arise in group life, whether in religion, civic, marital or business affairs, there must be a deciding voice, a directing head. It is so in all life relationships. No two people can dictate or rule, especially when the point is debatable. One or the other must submit; a compromise is rarely more than a camouflage. All men recognise the fact that there must be a deciding voice at the head of the government, the business and the home—else anarchy. The directing head may sometimes be mentally, and even morally inferior to those over whom he presides. When that happens, the intelligent inferior proves his character best by quiet obedience, an acquiescence to direction, or he dissolves the partnership.

In all public and private life, the duties and obligations of the man and the woman are equally important and should be equally distributed. That their paths lie parallel, touching and merging here and there, yet coalescing only around the domestic altar carries no implication of superiority or inferiority. What one sex lacks the other supplements; each is to the other the complement.

Women are the creators of the home morale. The whole home atmosphere, the wheel of flaming life-force whirls round the soul of the mother and wife. Without herself, nay without her conscious creative powers, there can be no home. It is not enough that her body shall be in her four-walled home, her brain and her heart must be there also. She may not produce the seeds of life, but she treasures them and nourishes them—sees the life and character tendrils sprout up through the mellowed, plastic minds of her little ones. She waters that seed with her tears, she brings it forth to harvest under the sunshine of her smiles and the benediction of her constant encouragement. If she plants in the heart of her husband the stimulating appreciation of his nobility and his prowess to achieve, he in turn lays upon her brow consciously or subconsciously all the laurel of his triumphs.

The family is the divine as well as the earthly unit of group life. Without the close-knit family cohesion there is no stimulus for human struggle and social evolution. In ever widening divine circles we shall reach out some day until we can grasp the full meaning of the Saviour's glorious revelation concerning the infinitude of "Our Father in Heaven."

The ancient Semites who dwelt in the valley of the Euphrates believed in a divine Father and Mother who together with their elder Son ruled the heavens. When the Prophet taught his people this principle he was revealing truths long ago understood by ancient covenant peoples. The inspirational hymn composed by Zion's poetess during the lifetime of the Prophet Joseph voices that conception:

"I had learned to call Thee Father through Thy spirit from on high;
But until the key of knowledge was restored I knew not why.
In the heavens are parents single? No, the thought makes reason stare,
Truth is reason, truth eternal tells me I've a mother there."

Does not St. Paul say that things earthly are a type of things heavenly? We hear little about our Mother in Heaven. Is it not because she speaks through the Father and her Son? Because she is engaged in creative work along her own lines of development?

Brigham Young understood and taught that all have individual conscious existence before life on this earth, for spirits or intelligences are eternal; that it is impossible while on earth to escape pain, sorrow, struggle and sickness. Yet through faith and truth in an all-wise Father, all earthly sorrows are turned into character-building forces. . . . When death comes they know that in that after life all friendships, family ties and tender affections will continue as they were upon this earth. For men and women are sealed to one another, over the altar in the House of the Lord for time and eternity. Parents to children and children to parents bear a like relationship.

This is the work of the priesthood; yet the people of this Church could never be "priest-ridden" because every good man holds a certain portion of that sacred authority to "act for God on earth." Women do not hold the priesthood, but they do share equally in the blessings and gifts bestowed on the priesthood in temple courts, in civic, social and domestic life. In the family circle as in the Church there is organisation and the priesthood hold presidency.

Office and priesthood carry heavy responsibilities requiring constant labour and time. No woman could safely carry the triple burden of wifehood, motherhood, and at the same time of functioning in priestly orders. Yet her creative home labour ranks side by side, in earthly and heavenly importance, with her husband's priestly responsibilities. His in the market-place—hers at the hearthstone. He is the leader and she follows, not because she must, but because she *wills* to do so. She chooses to magnify her sphere as he chooses his.

Brigham Young often referred to the breadth of women's sphere. He was afraid of no sex-comparisons nor of the superior advantages possessed by other men or women in intellectual or any other lines. What is more, he respected intellectual gifts whether possessed by men or women. Indeed he was always proud to recognise and acclaim the woman of gifts and to encourage her to use them to the fullest extent for the establishment of righteousness on earth.

From the organisation of the Church, woman exercised the religious franchise as her inherent right—not as a gift from a generous brotherhood. It is a part of the universal doctrine of "common consent." At all local and general councils and assemblies of the Church, woman gives her vote of consent or dissent. Even little children are trained in this fundamental right of citizenship. They not only vote to sustain the officers in their own Primary and Sunday School organisations, they are taught by careful mothers to vote in general conference for the President and general authorities of the Church. Where else may one find such liberty and practical equality?

The rigid insistence on a single sex-standard of virtue made and maintained by the leaders of the Church is a code of ethics and morals which bears even more heavily upon man, who carries the directing burdens of life, than upon the woman who elects to follow his leadership. This code forms a foundation of male worthiness whose reaction upon the women of the household makes for woman contentment. She notes, only subconsciously because of long custom, the chastening and elevating effects of religious restraint upon man's natural impulses, his appetites for stimulants and narcotics, all of which are also forbidden in the Church. She also observes the just access of public shame and obloquy which overtakes the rare sinning boy or man as heavily as that visited upon the sinning girl. No man has claim upon a chaste, restrained, upright woman who is not possessed of all these virtues first, himself. He sets the example, he must because he is the leader and because he holds the priesthood: she follows or not—as she chooses. But she pays the price as he does, or receives the benefit of that choice. "It is not my general practice to counsel the sisters to disobey their husbands," said Brigham Young, "my counsel is obey your husbands. . . . But I never counselled a woman to follow her husband to the Devil."

While the saints sojourned in Ohio and Illinois the Prophet was not permitted under the existing charters of those states, to offer civil franchise to women. But when they reached the Salt Lake Valley women were at once given the civil franchise. "Now, sisters, I want you to vote," said Brigham Young, "because you are the characters that rule the ballot box." When Utah was admitted as a territory into the Union, however, this privilege was withdrawn and was not restored until 1870, and then only as the result of agitation backed by the leading men and women of the Church. Indeed, it was declared by those unfriendly to the Church that if the franchise was granted to the women of Utah the "Mormon women would rise up and vote against the men of their own households." No greater surprise, perhaps, was ever handed out to onlookers than the results of this freedom for women; for the women of this Church then and always have been united with the men on all matters concerning the Church and State. It is interesting that probably the first woman to cast her vote legally in the United States was Miss Seraph Young, a niece of Brigham Young.

It is very worthy of note that these early pioneer leaders were firm advocates of co-education, which is amply proven by their acts and their written words. All Utah schools from the first have been entirely open for all the children of all the people. Women and girls were being constantly urged to make use of their opportunities and to improve their minds. Said the Leader at one time: "Every man and woman that has talent and hides it will be called a slothful servant. Improve day by day upon the capital you have. In proportion as we are capacitated to receive, so it is our duty to do." And this: "Go to school and study, have the girls go, and teach them chemistry, so that they can take any of these rocks and analyse them. The sciences can be learned without much difficulty. I want to have schools to entertain the minds of the people and draw them out to learn the arts and sciences."

The University founded by these pioneers in a barren wilderness thousands of miles from civilisation in 1850 is amongst the very first institutions of higher learning to open its doors and extend a welcome to women as well as men.

The first organisation of women in the Church occurred in 1841, in Nauvoo, when Mary Fielding Smith, the wife of the Patriarch, Hyrum Smith, with her sister, Mercy R. Thompson, organised a Sisters' Penny Subscription Fund, to raise means toward building the Nauvoo Temple, which has already been referred to. This informal society, however, was but the beginning; a far greater organisation succeeded it. Called together by the Prophet, these women were solemnly appointed to a mission, the like of which had not been formed although it was in one sense similar to all charitable bands of women in the Middle Ages. This organisation had for its foundation stone, the doctrine of Free Agency or Common Consent. It provided public experience and unselfish service for women, as the priesthood work did for men. Out of that simple beginning of an informal group of women grew later the permanent organisation of the Relief Society of the Church.

On March 17, 1842, the Prophet invited eighteen leading women of the Church to organise themselves, to choose their name, to appoint their officers and to be guided in all their proceedings by parliamentary law. Thus was born probably the first woman's organisation in the United States and in the modern world which has functioned to this day. The title chosen was Female Relief Society though its purpose is largely cultural and educational as well as philanthropic and charitable. It continued to function until the martyrdom when its work was held over for a time.

After arriving in the Valley a few sporadic attempts were made by women here and there to rearrange branches of the Relief Society. After settlement was well under way, one of the first Relief Societies organised was for the purpose of caring for and teaching the Indian women, who were often hungry and nearly naked. This Society was called the Sisters Indian Relief Society. It was organised in 1854 and was in active operation with reports and collections until 1857, when the "Move South" occurred.

Organisation is as necessary in a religious body as in a nation, if it is to serve the greatest number; but it must have good leadership. Looking about, counselling with the wise women in Zion, Brigham Young saw that the work of the Relief Society needed unifying and strengthening through some central authority or leader. Bishops here and there had encouraged active women to organise Relief Societies. But this was not done systematically; there was no cohesion in the movement.

A woman leader who should preside over women's public interests was imperatively needed. That woman leader was near at hand in the person of Eliza R. Snow, a plural wife of the Prophet. She had accepted a home with Brigham Young, though she was never a wife to him except in name. She was given the mission to reorganise the Relief Society and started out to do so in 1866, establishing social branches in every ward. She called to her assistance some of the ablest and strongest women in the Church. Thus the Relief Society was made general throughout all the wards and stakes of Zion, and Sister

Snow was appointed as president over the entire sisterhood of the Church. Her quaint title, as used in *The Woman's Exponent,* was "Presidentess."

The work of the Relief Society is first for the uplift of woman and the home; it is also charitable in its application. Representatives of the Society visit all the families of the saints in their variously appointed districts monthly, as well as those of strangers, visitors, or any who may be in need. They ascertain spiritual and temporal needs, collect monthly charity donations, give food or needed supplies to poor families, arrange for help if there is sickness (they are themselves often nurses for the poor); they assist if death invades a house, they mourn with the mourners, they comfort and bless all with whom they come in contact. As a result there were no orphan asylums, no poor houses, amongst the Latter Day Saints. The aged and infirm, the orphan and helpless little ones were taken care of by relatives, friends or by opened homes of the members. The efforts of the organised sisterhood of the Church always received the enthusiastic support of the Leader.

There was an effort made in the 'fifties, to introduce a stabilised dress for women, such as perhaps had marked the Shakers' and the Quakers' early attempts. "The Deseret Costume" was the result, consisting of bloomers and full skirts, without hoops, trimming or trains. The effort set thoughtless women to thinking, and paved the way for the Retrenchment Society, which was formed later. Yet Mormon women were too truly women to carry such a movement long. They had a love of beautiful colours and pretty clothes, so that a few years saw the matter dwindle into neglect, with only a memory of self-discipline left to strengthen the character of those who participated. Brigham Young looked on quietly at these womanly experiments, but he knew pretty well how they would end. He himself was not so much a revealer, or a reformer, as he was a leader. He could always trust time and truth to strike a wise balance.

The press, as a medium of enlightenment and exchange of information, was a vital necessity. In 1872, therefore, *The Woman's Exponent*, a semi-monthly paper, was founded by Eliza R. Snow under the warm encouragement of Brigham Young; his gifted young niece, Lula Green (Richards) was the editor chosen to launch this literary barque upon its uncharted feminine sea. From this time onward the *Exponent* is the unfolding celluloid upon which is screened the pulsating woman's life of that rapidly developing period—not only in Zion, but all over the world. Its founders and editors received constant and material help and encouragement from the leaders. Its usefulness to the womanhood of the Church may scarcely be overestimated.

Under the wise leadership of Sister Snow many other remarkable outgrowths developed from the Society itself. Suffrage societies were organised, ward Relief Society halls were built, the gleaning and saving of grain was instituted and granaries were built. Women's Co-operative stores were established and a Woman's Exchange was opened in Salt Lake City. Nurse classes were organised; women physicians were sent east to study their profession; a woman's hospital was instituted, and women were encouraged to act upon school boards and take a vital part in civic life.

The idea of saving grain owed its inception to Brigham Young. "Never waste or burn one kernel of corn," he said. "A bird would pick that kernel up if thrown out of doors in mid-winter." He deprecated the careless, wasteful methods of farmers who so lightly left thousands of bushels of grain out in the fields up and down the country. Gathered up and stored, they would provide against a day of famine, would give out-door summer employment for women and girls while furnishing means with which to do good when the necessities of the poor required it, or when calamity might overtake the state or the nation. He consulted Sister Snow and both agreed that the women should undertake the work. The mission was accepted; and women, assisted by children and young girls, were given permission to glean in all the fields of the neighbourhood, carrying the wheat in their aprons to their special repository. They built granaries, and became through this agency a power in commercial circles as the years rolled on. Gradually hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of grain was acquired which was stored in their own granaries, or in the Church elevators against a time of need. Many unfortunate people and the nations of the earth have had reason to bless the efforts of these women gleaners. A car load was sent to China in the time of a great famine. Another car load was sent to the sufferers from a Mississippi flood, and still another to San Francisco after the earthquake. During the Great War 100,000 bushels were turned over to the Government for distribution.

Brigham Young believed that women would make just as good traders or merchants as men. He also foreshadowed their commercial activity. He remarked on one occasion:

> "Another thing I will say with regard to our trading. Our Relief Societies are doing immense good now, but they can take hold and do all the trading for these wards just as well as to keep a big loafer to do it. It is always disgusting to me to see a big, fat, lubberly fellow handing out calicoes and measuring ribbon; I would rather see the ladies do it. The ladies can learn to keep books as well as the men; we have some few, already, who are just as good accountants as any of our brethren. Why not teach more of them to keep books and sell goods and let them do this business, and let the men go to raising sheep, wheat, or cattle, or go and do something or other to beautify the earth and help to make it like the Garden of Eden, instead of spending their time in a lazy, loafing manner?"

This counsel of the Leader was taken literally and liberally by the women of the Church. A Women's Co-operative Store and Exchange was established in Salt Lake City in 1876 with Sister Snow as chairman of the board of directors. Similar enterprises were undertaken in Ogden, Brigham City, Provo, Parowan and St. George. All of them succeeded for a time, if they did not become wealthy. At least sociologically it was a great success, for it gave the women who managed and and women who patronised the stores, a new sense of economic values. Perhaps this was the best result obtained.

Early in the 'seventies classes were organised for the study of nursing, hygiene and obstetrics. Many young women qualified as nurses and some as physicians. A woman's hospital was opened and remained in successful operation till 1896. The nurse-work and training was then taken over by the Relief Society, and it is now part of the L. D. S. Hospital course. Brigham Young maintained the old Mosaic traditions which prepared midwives for service in the households of the saints. He was strenuously opposed to men acting in this capacity. What he would say about present conditions, where men have driven women entirely out of the birth chamber, only he and the Lord might declare.

He counselled the women to study law, medicine, civil government, to accept public office when compatible with their home duties. Someone asked him if he thought there should be women sheriffs. With a twinkling eye he replied: "Well I think if Sister Harriet (one of his wives) went out after a man she would get him." He urged them to study typewriting and stenography and provided teachers in this subject for his family and others.

At this time Brigham Young's mind was aroused to the need of social retrenchment—(that pregnant, quaint old word) amongst the people at large. Extravagance of any sort was always a source of sorrow to him. He saw a growing waste of time and means in his own home. His girls were following the fashions with bustles, ruffles, shingled hair and the mincing gait of the 'sixties. Like the wise man he was he thought first of his own family, wishing them to set the example of "retrenchment" to Israel. Why? Because it was a sacrifice he was asking of all the girls of Zion. He and his should set the example to do away with vanity's symbols. That was it!

All the frills and furbelows that had been introduced into the isolated Puritan minded community when that hoary old Dame Fashion crossed the continent in the pioneer trails to the Pacific, these must voluntarily be given up by girls. Frills and furbelows that trimmed and cluttered up not only their dresses but their minds and ideals as well. Enough was good enough; too much was useless waste as well as a snare to the soul.

Yet that was not all! Not only the girls must retrench, but their mothers as well. So he called upon a brave, true Mother of Israel to marshal all the hosts of Israel's Mothers, that they too might lead and set an example worthy of imitation. Only that? Just to cut off silly ruffles and put aside useless trimmings? No, no, indeed no. He knew, did Brigham Young, that nature abhors a vacuum. "Fill the mind with truth and no error can creep in." "Learn to weigh human values, to estimate human motives." Truth! always truth, therefore seek truth and knowledge will come. "Think for yourself. Don't let others think for you." "Walk not in borrowed light." "Study, arrange programmes, cultivate music and singing, read books and surround all your study and recreation with the spirit of purity and worship if you wish to protect the youth of Zion!" These are some of his inspired teachings.

Surrounded by a large developing family of his own, his mind was led very strongly to form an organisation among his own young daughters. There under his roof was that great woman Eliza R. Snow with whom he counselled. She was quick to see the tremendous significance of this new departure proposed by President Young, looking toward the further advancement of her sex. She took up the suggestion with eagerness and intelligence. She was too noble to lose sight of the fact that here again the initiative was taken for woman's progress by a broad-minded and prophetic man. The details of the work, however, were committed to her care, and she was urged to call to her assistance other great leaders among the women of the Church.

The first meeting of the projected organisation was called by Brigham Young on November 28, 1869, in the parlour of his own home—the Lion House. After the simple and usual evening prayer had been offered, the President addressed his family. Among other things he said:

> "All Israel are looking to my family and watching the example set by my wives and children. For this reason I desire to organise my own family first into a society for the promotion of habits of order, thrift, industry, and charity; and above all things I desire them to retrench from their extravagance in dress, in eating and even in speech. The time has come when the sisters must agree to give up their follies of dress and cultivate a modest apparel, a meek deportment, and to set an example worthy of imitation before the people of the world. I am weary of the manner in which our women seek to outdo each other in all the foolish fashions of the world. For instance, if a sister invites her friends to visit her, she must have quite as many dishes as her neighbour spread on a former occasion, and indeed she must have one or two more in order to show how much superior her table is to her neighbour's. This silly rivalry has induced a habit of extravagance in our food; it has involved fathers and husbands in debt, and it has made slaves of the mothers and daughters. It is not right. It is displeasing to the Lord, and the poor groan under the burden of trying to ape the customs of those who have more means.
>
> "Then again, our daughters are following the vain and foolish fashions of the world. I want you to set your own fashions. Let your apparel be neat and comely, and the workmanship of your own hands.
>
> "I have long had it in my mind to organise the young ladies of Zion into an association so that they might assist the older members of the Church, their fathers and mothers, in propagating, teaching, and practising the principles I have been so long teaching. There is need for the young daughters of Israel to get a living testimony of the truth. I wish our girls to obtain a knowledge of the Gospel for themselves. For this purpose I desire to establish this organisation and want my family to lead out in the great work. I have always been willing to give my children all the advantages of education and schooling possible to obtain. But I want them to appreciate these advantages and not to squander their opportunities.
>
> "We are about to organise a Retrenchment Association, which I want you all to join, and I want you to vote to retrench in your dress, in your

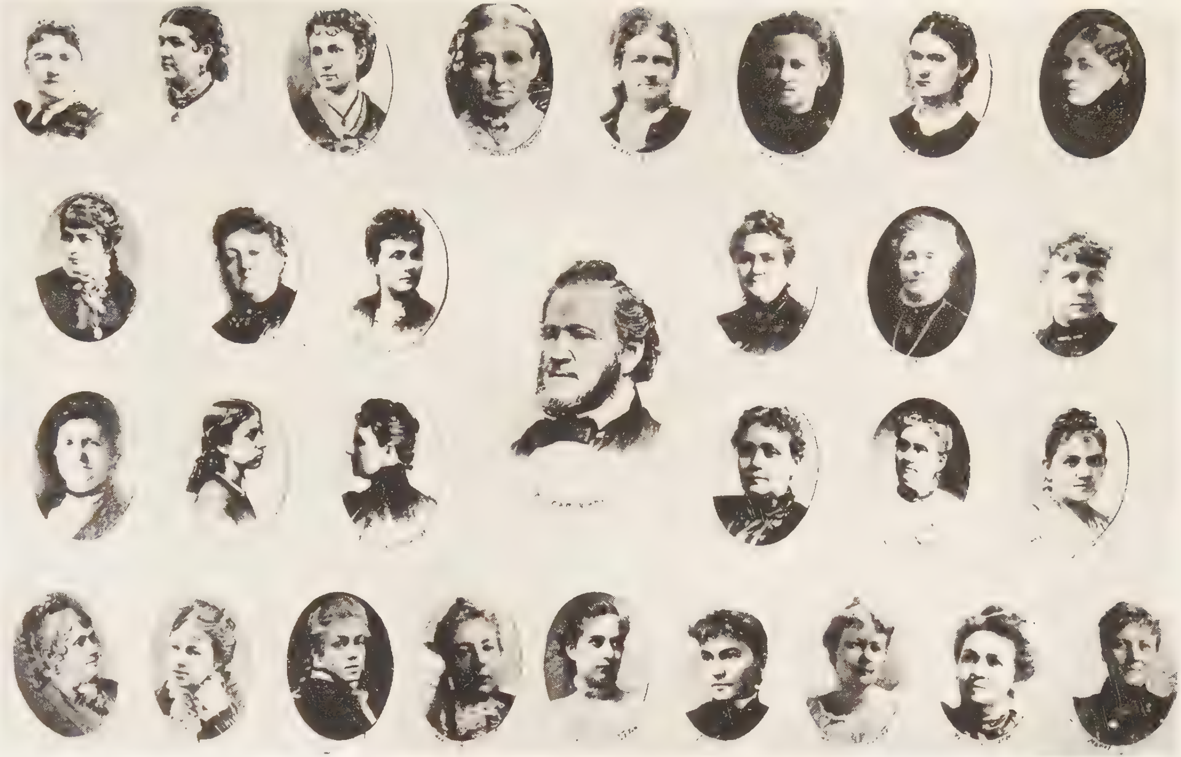
> tables, in your speech, wherein you have been guilty of silly, extravagant speeches and light-mindedness of thought. Retrench in everything that is not good and beautiful. Not to make yourselves unhappy, but to live so that you may be truly happy in this life and the life to come."

This Association, first formed amongst his own daughters with constitution, by-laws, programmes and regular meetings, soon included their friends and later spread to the entire Church. Its name was changed to the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association. Later the young men were organised with similar aims of mutual improvement and to-day they have grown to a membership of over one hundred thousand.

The Leader possessed an understanding of woman's labour. He had himself assisted his own mother and sisters in their domestic labours while for a number of years he bore the house burdens alone when his invalid first wife lay ill, slowly dying upon her bed. He therefore was well qualified to counsel women in later years on the subject of domestic efficiency and economy. He understood generally the chemical laws which produced the reactions of salt-rising and yeast bread, so he lost no dignity, rather gained in leadership, when he taught, by example, the inexperienced women emigrants crossing the plains, how to set "risings" overnight and to mould the upspringing dough into suitable loaves. These unbaked loaves went into the camp bake-skillet which he set over and under the exact number of glowing coals to bake the delicious loaf which would emerge in time for the hungry early breakfasters.

His grasp of the full meaning of home life and the part played by the man as well as the woman is most interesting:

> "It is for the husband to learn how to gather around his family the comforts of life, how to control his passions and temper, and how to command the respect, not only of his family but of all his brethren, sisters, and friends. It is the calling of the wife and mother to know what to do with everything that is brought into the house, labouring to make her home desirable to her husband and children, making herself an Eve in the midst of a little paradise of her own creating, securing her



BRIGHAM YOUNG AND HIS DAUGHTERS

> husband's love and confidence, and tying her offspring to herself, with a love that is stronger than death, for an everlasting inheritance.
>
> "Let the husband make an improvement upon his kitchen and pantry and upon his bedrooms for the benefit of his family, and improve his gardens, walks, etc., beautifying your habitations and their surroundings, making pavements and planting shade trees.
>
> "I have been into houses which have not had the least convenience for the women, not so much as a bench to set their water pails on, and they have to set them on the floor, and yet their husbands will sit there year after year, and never make so much improvement as a bench to set the pail on. Yet they have the ability, they will not exercise it."

That he understood in general the underlying principles of foods and nutrition is proven by extracts from his discourses. After enjoining mothers not to overfeed their children with indigestible food, he said:

> "Let your children have a little milk in the morning. Give them a little bread with it—not soft bread, teach your children to eat crust—hard baked bread, that the Americans would call stale, but the English would not. Teach them to eat this, and to eat sparingly. Instead of drinking unhealthy water, boil such waters, and let it stand until it is cool. . . . Mothers, keep the children from eating meat; and let them eat vegetables and fruit that are fully matured, not unripe, and bread that is well baked, not soft."

He gave the mothers of Zion practical advice on many points concerning their children and their household. He and his associate leaders never lost sight of women's greatest responsibility—that of home and family. A measure of public activity for all women, single or married, was encouraged, but only as it would help to broaden and increase their capacity as home-makers and mothers. This is the creative physical and spiritual labour which makes woman approach nearest to Godhood. Said he on one occasion to an ambitious daughter who had been appointed to go out and lecture with others throughout the country:

> "Daughter, use all your gifts to build up righteousness in the earth. Never use them to acquire name or fame. Never rob your home, nor

your children. If you were to become the greatest woman on earth and your name should be known in every land and clime, but you should neglect your home and family, you would wake up in the morning of the resurrection and find you had failed in everything! However, after you have satisfied the claim of husband and children, all that you can do to advance the cause of Truth will redound to your own honour and to the glory of God."

# XXVI

## PERSECUTION AND SOME FAULTS

Misjudged for "The Cause"—Personal and Church Persecutions—Life Sought Because of His Defence of the Prophet—Mob Surrounds the Temple—Escapes by a Clever Ruse—Trials in Utah—Unfounded Accusations—The Englebrecht Case—Attempts to Annul Regulations against Sale of Liquor—Trumped-up Charges Lead to Leader's Imprisonment—Recall of Judge MacKean—The Ann Eliza Divorce Case—A Dissatisfied and Ill-advised Wife—Refusal to Hurry—Some Faults and Weaknesses—Characteristics of His Greatness.

THE life and labours of Brigham Young were varied and shadowed by an intermittent series of personal and church persecutions and prosecutions. Polygamy, upon which horn of the Mormon dilemma opposers hung most of their objections and active persecutions, served to draw somewhat the fire of frontal attack from that deeper, aye, that fundamental objection on that other dilemma horn: the unity of the people derived from their claim to continuous revelation from their Heavenly Father. They had no confusion of ideals between State and Church nor in competitive business matters; but unity of people on moral issues and on spiritual responsibility was considered a menace by religious and political opponents.

The exact balance to be struck by the individual or the group between Church and State, race and race, class and class, remains to-day the very crux of national perpetuity in both Europe and America. The principle of give and take, of liberality, of individual against group, of sect against sect, of political party against party, all these fundamental questions of human relationships can usually be settled by wisdom in compromise tempered with judgment as well as firmness in decision. Only let such vital questions be settled by reason, not force. "Never be the aggressor," was the motto of all Brigham Young's political and social life. If an enemy will not listen to reason, however, and approaches your home, armed and on mischief bent, prepare your defences well and soon. "Say your prayers and keep your powder dry," fitted his temperament and was often expressed by him. All of his days after he entered the Church were strenuous, filled with care, loaded with burdens, and shadowed by attempts to give him unsought and unfavourable publicity.

The Prophet had at once discovered his strength and loyalty and early entrusted many practical enterprises to his careful management. After the martyrdom, the whole cross of leadership was laid upon his shoulders, and how he bore that tremendous load this book has attempted to portray. He shared the animus and bitter hatred which followed the Prophet, not only because of his own fearless stand upon the rock of new revelation, but also because he faced the enemies of the Prophet with the bold assertion that Joseph was the man chosen by God to establish His Church in latter days and that Joseph was the Prophet of this Dispensation. The disappointed ambitious men in the Church, that perennial crop of apostates whose loyalty to a Cause is based upon personal value received, arose constantly in the market place to cry, "The Church is being led astray!" "Joseph is a fallen prophet!" To all such and sundry, Brigham Young was a merciless avenger.

When the apostate party in Kirtland gathered strength to launch a concerted offensive, they called a Council in an upper room in the Kirtland Temple to depose the Prophet and to appoint another in his place. Brigham Young silenced all clamour, challenged all denunciations, offered to meet a pugilist present on his own terms and at once focused the spot-light of apostate attack upon himself. From that hour his life was sought, his safety endangered and the persecution waxed so violent that his assassination was openly proclaimed and he was obliged to flee before the mob. His enemies followed him to Missouri. He aroused there as he had aroused in Kirtland the spirit of persecution.

The balance in his character was happily struck by his keen sense of humour. If he could not conquer his enemies by justice or by superior numbers he could sometimes put them to rout through making them ridiculous. One such occasion occurred in Nauvoo; and while the attendant circumstances were tragic enough, Brigham Young turned tragedy into farce. He tells the story himself:

> "I was in my room in the Temple at Nauvoo, after the murder of the Prophet and his brother Hyrum. I learned that a posse was lurking around the building, and that the United States Marshal was waiting for me to come down, whereupon I knelt down and asked my Father in Heaven to guide and protect me, that I might live to prove advantageous to the Saints. I arose from my knees, and sat down in my chair. There came a rap at my door. 'Come in,' I said: and Brother George D. Grant, who was then engaged driving my carriage and doing chores for me, entered the room. Said he, 'Brother Brigham, do you know that a posse and the United States Marshal are here?' I told him I had heard so. On entering the room, Brother Grant had left the door open. Nothing came into my mind what to do until looking across the hall I saw Brother William Miller leaning against the wall. As I stepped towards the door I beckoned to him; he came. 'Brother William,' I said, 'the Marshal is here for me; will you go and do just as I tell you? If you will I will serve him a trick.' I knew that Brother Miller was an excellent man, perfectly reliable, capable of carrying out my project. 'Here, take my cloak,' said I; but it happened to be Brother Heber C. Kimball's, our cloaks were alike in colour, fashion and size. I threw it around his shoulders, and told him to wear my hat and accompany Brother George D. Grant. He did so. 'George, you step into the carriage,' said I to Brother Grant, 'and look towards Brother Miller, and say to him, as though you were addressing me, 'Are you ready to ride?' You can do this and they will suppose Brother Miller to be me, and proceed accordingly.' And they did so.
>
> "Just as Brother Miller was entering the carriage the Marshal stepped up to him, and, placing his hand upon his shoulder, said, 'You are my prisoner.' . . .

"When they arrived within two or three miles of Carthage, the Marshal, with his posse, stopped. They arose in their carriages, buggies and wagons, and, like a tribe of Indians going to battle, or as if they were a pack of demons, yelling and shouting, exclaimed: 'We've got him; we've got him; we've got him!'

"When they reached Carthage, the Marshal took the supposed Brigham into an upper room of the hotel, and placed a guard over him, at the same time telling those around that he had got him. Brother Miller remained in the room until they bid him come to supper. While there, parties came in one after the other, and asked for Brigham. Brother Miller was pointed out to them. So it continued, until an apostate Mormon, by the name of Thatcher, who had lived in Nauvoo, came in, sat down and asked the landlord where Brigham was.

" 'That is Mr. Young,' said the landlord, pointing across the table to Brother Miller.

" 'Where? I can't see any one that looks like Brigham,' Thatcher replied.

"The landlord told him it was that fleshy man, eating.

" 'Oh,' exclaimed Thatcher, 'that's not Brigham; that's William Miller, one of my old neighbours.'

"Upon hearing this the landlord went, and tapping the Marshal on the shoulder, took him a few steps to one side and said:

" 'You have made a mistake. That is not Brigham Young. It is William Miller of Nauvoo.'

"The Marshal, very much astonished, exclaimed: 'Good Heavens! and he passed for Brigham.' He then took Brother Miller into a room, and turning to him said: 'Why didn't you tell me your name?'

" 'You have not asked me my name,' Brother Miller replied.

" 'Well, what is your name?' said the Marshal, with an oath.

" 'My name is William Miller.'

"The Marshal, in a rage, walked out of the room, followed by Brother Miller who hastened away to a place of safety."

That hatred and violence should cease to dog the footsteps of the man who led Christ's Church when it was established in the West is unthinkable. The Mexican slave traffic, which Brigham Young sternly denounced and which the Territory passed laws to abolish in Utah, stirred up both renegade white and some Indian chiefs who had trafficked thus in Indian girls and children between America and Mexico.

Then came the "roaring Forties" with the rush of ruthless adventurers across Utah highways, bringing demands for whisky, gambling dens and brothel-houses in their wake. Mormon white girls as well as many poor Indian maidens were sacrificed to the unbridled lust of some of these godless argonauts. Johnston's army precipitated another reckless and feckless contest between the forces of morality and sobriety. The railway brought other hordes of adventure-seekers, some of whom were home-builders, business promoters. But in and through the whole fabric of Utah history for four decades ran the scarlet thread of persecution, of Brigham Young chiefly, for he stood as the type and symbol of all that was unlike other men, other religions, other civilisations. His large family, his own ruthless denunciation of a double standard of virtue—it sounded in adulterous ears as high-hat hypocrisy, but it wasn't—his determination to preserve his people's civic and social rights, his occasional plain Yankee talk in the pulpit about men who traduced the Church and her policies—all this and more kept him as the focus of opposition and persecution.

Sometimes he smiled—sometimes he denounced—generally he kept quiet—but always he prayed. His life was more than assailed, he was besieged with threatening letters, and he knew by the spirit that was in him that the Devil hated him and longed to rid the world of his presence.

During the last decade of his life the lights and shadows across his pathway increased in intensity. The shadows were all from outside his Churchly and domestic labours and duties. His enemies were the few apostates, the occasional self-appointed ministerial non-Mormon reformers, and dishonest hypocrites who sought to climb into public limelight through the picturesque featuring of the wicked Mormons and their polygamous leader, Brigham Young.

Men's motives are as involved and as contradictory as are their features and eugenic inheritance. No doubt about it, murderers and thieves find excuses and justification for their crimes. Society to-day is saturated with the sentimental slush which helps such criminals to pose as semi-heroes on front pages of newspapers. Relativity rules the modern moral world.

So the men who constantly found excuses to hound Brigham Young year by year, accusing him of all sorts of crimes against society, had no doubt mixed motives of religious and moral bigotry compounded with personal ambition for Eastern limelight, and a dash of reckless courage begotten of self-laudation for bearding the great Mormon Lion in his Western lair. The Lion looked on while his tormentors flipped their puny missiles at him. We have seen how untrue were the accusations made by his enemies during the Echo Canyon War period. Following that came the Civil War of the United States and politicians, press and preachers were too busy for some years to bother about "Mormonism" so called.

Then came the celebrated Englebrecht case in 1870–72, being an effort to embroil the Mormons in a series of law-suits, which would break down the city's prohibition statutes against the sale and use of liquor. Years were consumed and money was poured into lawyers' pockets; then civil statutes were altered by the United States Supreme Court's decision, and finally Utah (then a Territory) was forced to open wide her doors to saloons. Only enough license was permitted to partly carry the expense of administering the law.

A Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* commented vigorously on this Englebrecht case. He wrote:

> "While at Salt Lake City I was struck with the almost sublime faith which the Mormons had in the Supreme Court, a faith that they would obtain justice in that exalted tribunal. . . . The case immediately before the court had its origin in the Gentile love for whisky. The Mormons do not drink whisky, and by virtue of their control of the city, discouraged the sale of liquor by a severe tax, a tax so high that it almost amounted to prohibition.
>
> "The whisky men refused to pay it, and agreeable to a city ordinance the city officers emptied the contents of a groggery into the street. The owners sued for damages, and went into MacKean's court. MacKean

> ruled every Mormon off the jury, although they compose nine-tenths of the population, and the whisky men got a judgment for over three times the value of the liquor destroyed. The Mormons took their case up to a tribunal where law and justice are meted out to men of all religions as well as those of none. Chief Justice Chase delivered the unanimous opinion of the court, and promptly reversed all of MacKean's iniquitous rulings."

Associated with this case was the personal prosecution of Brigham Young on a charge trumped up between the enterprising get-rich-quick lawyers and a bitter apostate self-confessed murderer, the notorious "Bill" Hickman, who sought to implicate Brigham Young and some of his associate leaders as accessories to his brutal crimes. The evidence, however, proved too flimsy, so Brigham Young was indicted for "lewd and lascivious cohabitation." Jail was possible now and it was the boast of Justice MacKean that they would send the Mormon Leader to prison.

At this juncture Brigham Young, worn out with the long drawn-out prosecutions and persecutions and assured that the new case would not come to trial till the late summer, had gone on his annual trip south to spend the winter in St. George, where he was when this final decision was made. As soon as MacKean found Brigham Young was out of the city, he called the case and accused the Leader of running away from justice. He had the surprise of his life, when the case opened to see the President walk quietly into court to stand his trial. He had left his southern home in the dead of winter and travelled night and day to face his accusers. He offered no resistance, went to jail, appealed to the court for bail, engaged Hon. Thomas Fitch to plead his case and cases, won out every time, and still carried on the executive and spiritual duties of his calling. Finally came the dismissal of MacKean by President Grant of the United States when all these trumped-up charges were dismissed.

In all the years of his married life Brigham Young had been surrounded with an atmosphere of domestic peace, loving harmony. Disagreements there were, clashes of temperament, and some sorrows and sicknesses, but deaths were few indeed and seldom any quarrelling or squabbling. When domestic tension became sometimes unbearable, wise Aunt Eliza Snow (or loving Aunt Zina) would invite the unhappy wives into her own sitting-room, or perhaps they would meet in gentle Aunt Clara's, Aunt Emily's or mother's sitting-room; and without mentioning any trouble would just have a little "prayer-meeting." Hymns would be sung, prayers offered, and this spiritual contact cleared away difficulties, smoothed rough corners and filled the soul with divine love and peace. Sometimes, dear associate friends and leading women, such as Aunt Rachel Grant, Sarah M. Kimball, Helen Mar Whitney, M. Isabella Horne, Dr. Romania B. Penrose or Aunt Em. Wells would be there and take part in these spiritual domestic gatherings. We children sometimes slipped into the meetings.

Aunt Eliza Snow's sitting-room was the council-chamber where these prominent women often gathered to discuss women's public activities and projects, such as suffrage, women's co-operative stores, silk growing and manufacturing, a woman's hospital, a newspaper, and grain-saving. Eliza R. Snow was Zion's supreme woman leader.

Brigham Young went always on his calm, deliberate way, exceedingly kind and gentle to his family, thoughtful of his friends, indifferent to his enemies, and above all never hurried nor worried. It is significant that just after the martyrdom, President Young dreamed he saw Brother Joseph who told him not to be in a hurry—this admonition was given thrice. In all his years he never forgot that advice. "If this people want wealth, comfort, and happiness, do not be in a hurry," he said.

It may be suggested that this intimate picture of Brigham Young contains no character shadows, but is concerned only with the high lights of his virtues and kingly powers. This statement might be answered in his own way, by allowing that

BRIGHAM YOUNG

his enemies have been so busy magnifying his faults that there is small need of his friends painting any personal shadows into the picture.

He had some character-weaknesses—how could he be the great man he was were it not so? He was easily prejudiced, and it was difficult to change his opinions when once they were formed. Then he could be sarcastic, but never spiteful. On provocation, he was sometimes very angry, but never with tempestuous explosion or rude haste. He could punish his boys if they threw stones into precious and costly window panes, or into the home playgrounds where babies and little girls were at play. But never did he punish unjustly or in anger.

His faults or rather peculiarities were those of his Scotch-Irish New England inheritance—a certain intolerance for rebellious, wicked hypocrites. Weakness, in difference of opinions and policies he was lenient with; nay, more, he was courteous and generous to his honourable opponents. But those who posed as reformers towards him and his people, who would destroy the Church and Kingdom of God, and especially if they were themselves "whited sepulchres" he hated with a passion that often vented itself in violent speech. His family, who heard never an unrefined word from his lips, were nevertheless not shocked when he denounced or even cursed in the pulpit the renegades who sometimes manifested their filthy bitterness to women and children not only in the streets, but a few times at least in their public addresses. Anything bordering on self-seeking hypocrisy or boastful self-sufficiency roused his deep resentment. Yet, even then, he never humiliated his friend or his enemy.

Chastise his associates he did, sometimes in public when the offence was of a public nature, as he and they had been often thus rebuked by the Prophet Joseph; but never unnecessarily to humiliate the individual, nor to vilify the character.

On one occasion he found it necessary to publicly rebuke

Bishop W., adding at the close of his stinging remarks: "Now I don't want Brother W. to apostatise from the Church because I have said what I have." "Don't worry, Brother Brigham," replied the Bishop in stentorian tones, "this is just as much my Church as it is yours," at which remark the Leader chuckled.

He said little about his faults, or about other's faults. Once he rebuked his daughter for relating in detail one of her own character weaknesses. "Don't do that," he said. "If you were holding a fort against an enemy, you wouldn't get up in a gap in the wall and shout, 'Here is a hole, climb in here!' " He said again:

> "Confess your faults to the individuals you ought to confess them to, and proclaim them not on the house tops. Be careful that you wrong not yourselves. If persons lose confidence in themselves, it takes away the strength, faith and confidence that others have in them. If you committed sin that no other person on earth knows of, and which harms no other one, you have done a wrong and you have sinned against your God, but keep that within your own bosom, and seek to God and confess there, and get pardon for your sin—confess your sins to whomsoever you have sinned against and let it stop there."

What perfect psychology he had, taught by the Master of men's minds.

His greatest grief was the defection of men whom he had trusted. His confidence, once lost, was difficult to retrieve. A prominent business man, whose name was well known in all pioneer years, but who apostatised from the Church later, when asked what was his deepest regret in leaving the Church, replied: "The loss of Brother Brigham's love and confidence."

It is admitted that he must have had weaknesses—some of them mighty, as was his strength; for no man, save only One, has lived on earth without guile or flaw. Yet one would search a long time among his descendants or relatives, his friends and associates, to find those who would or could portray the flecks in the diamond. He was so kind, so fatherly, so considerate of others. A tired child, a burdened woman, an old man—

how keen were his eyes to see, and his hand to minister to all of these!

The characters of Joseph Smith, of Brigham Young and of their successors are so set apart to those who loved and honoured them, that their human weaknesses but served to heighten the radiance of loving reverence which shone round about them. Scorning man-worship as they all did, and do to-day, none of those leaders were or are entirely separated from the glorified halo which surrounds all men of great accomplishments. Christ was silent, when on earth, as to the weaknesses of His chosen disciples. Shall we be less respectful to-day?

# XXVII

## HIS HOME LIFE

Description by His Daughter—Cherished Memories—Plural Marriage and Brigham Young's Hesitancy—Builds Homes for His Family—The Lion House—Colonial Dwelling of Many Rooms—Domestic Conveniences—Separate Rooms for Wives—A Home Well Furnished—Children Welcomed—Doctoring Childish Ailments—Food and Meal Times—Fifty at one Sitting—Simple but Ample Fare—The Leader's Diet.

THERE is a natural curiosity to hear of the intimate life and characteristics of great men; and this questioning becomes doubly insistent and interesting when the family relations of such men present anything out of the ordinary. When you transplant to modern American soil a fragment of the ancient patriarchal form of marital relations, with other particular and peculiar religious beliefs and practices, the curiosity assumes abnormal proportions, and vague surmises as to such people sprouting horns instead of hair are actually considered by otherwise sensible people.

It is idle and foolish to approach the study of deep religious or sociological problems with ridicule and levity. The sacrifice and death, the mobbings and drivings of a whole people cannot be sneered away nor scorned into silence.

The Pilgrim Fathers set up their religious homes in the New World in 1620, dedicating the land as a free religious republic. The second genuine, original American religious civilisation was established by a maligned people who were driven into the isolation of the heart of the Rocky Mountains.

The centuries are the only historians! Men do not enter a Chinese joss house nor a Moslem mosque to ridicule and despise, but to inform the eye with the outer symbols of worship and to acquaint the mind with the deep significance which permeates every temple where a Supreme Being is worshipped!

Therefore I plead for a respectful consideration of the matters I am about to disclose regarding my father and his intimate home life. My childhood's home was as beautiful to me as love and happiness could make it. The other noble women who were my father's wives are as sacredly enshrined in my heart as is the memory of my own dear mother. My brothers and sisters are all as dear and precious to me, as I am to each one of them, wherever they may be.

Like other proud beings, we shrink from lifting the veil which enfolds the sanctity of our home life. However, when the motive prompting inquiry is one of deep interest, I can put aside the feelings of nature, and for the sake of truth and to vindicate the memory of my idolised father and mother, I am glad to set down here some facts and items. And let me speak as the daughter and not as the historian! For the things about which I am to write are the priceless memory of a carefree childhood, a happy joyous youth and a long life of deep satisfaction.

The principle of plural marriage was adopted by my father as it was taught him by the Prophet Joseph Smith, after great inner struggle and earnest prayer, as has been told in a former chapter. His strict puritanical training ill-fitted him to accept such a doctrine. He foresaw—as who would not—the storm of abuse and opposition which such action would arouse. And it was as death to him.

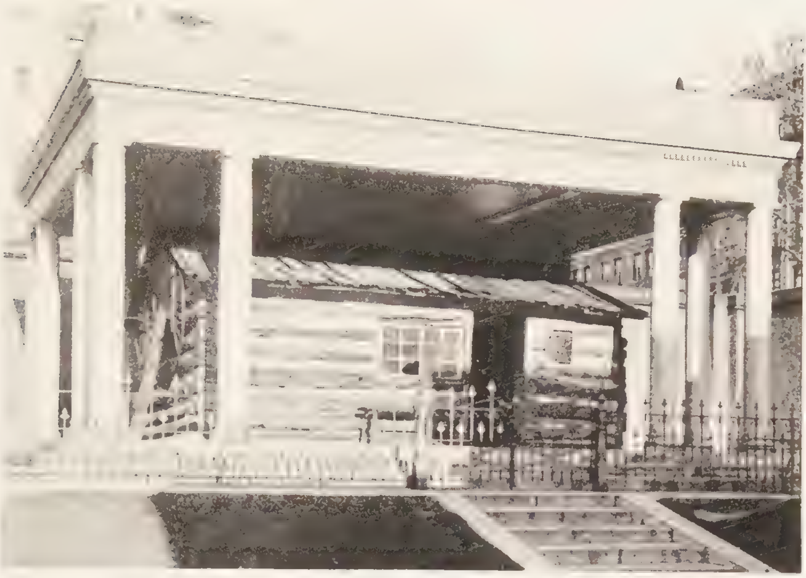
He told my mother once that he brooded and sorrowed for months, unreconciled in reason, yet converted in his spirit to its truth. And when he saw a funeral procession pass his door, he cried out in the bitterness of his soul: "O, that I could exchange places with the one who lies in that quiet coffin!"

Finally converted to the principle, he did not doubt the future, himself, nor God. But the fact remains that the men and women who entered into that relationship in early days, did so from purely religious motives. It was a high and sacred undertaking with them, involving much suffering and sacrifice on the part of both men and women. We say this, we who ought to know; we who were born under its influence and who owe our lives to the parents who lived and practised this principle in righteousness. That all men in those days did not live it in righteousness does not alter its being held as a sacrament. Are all monogamous marriages rightly lived and wholly successful? The majority of the relatively few who practised this order of marriage did so with righteous motives. Of that fact I can bear witness.

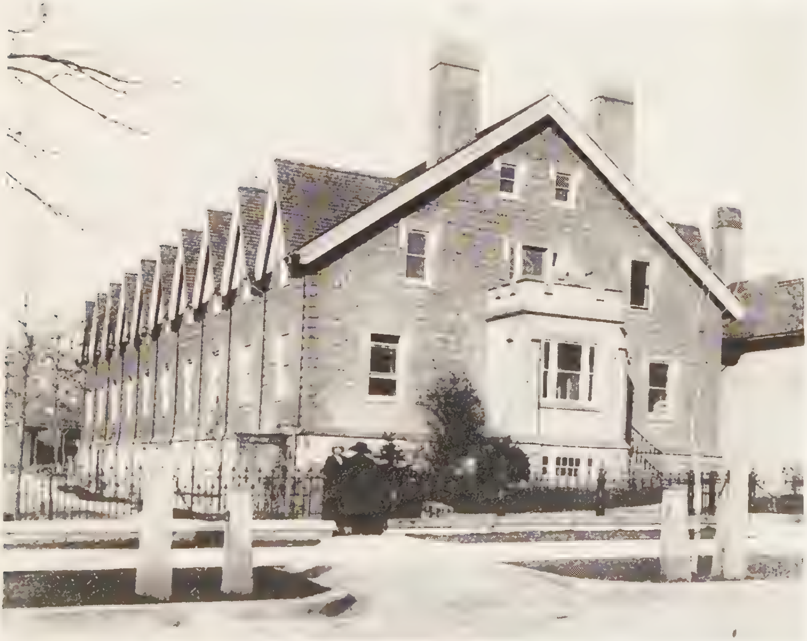
Some of my father's wives were married to him in Nauvoo, Illinois, by the Prophet himself, as I have heard him testify and as the Nauvoo records prove. After the Prophet's death others were married to him in Winter Quarters, where the saints were resting after being driven from Nauvoo. On the arrival in the Valley, my father, after the necessary interval in log houses, built good homes for his loved wives. The "White House" sufficed for "Mother" Young and her large family. The Bee Hive House was used as his official residence from the first. There he had his private office, entertained callers, and carried on his public affairs that were not prosecuted in the Church offices which were built next to the Bee Hive House.

My father had been so impressed with the economic advantages of the communal family experiment so far developed in 1852–55, that in the fall of 1855 he began to build what was called the Lion House, as a home for most of his family. "Mother" Young was in the White House and Aunt Lucy Decker Young in the Bee Hive House, the others were to be housed in the large, many-roomed, economically-planned Lion House of New England atmosphere, built and dedicated in 1856.

The Lion House, so called because of the crouching lion on



THE OLDEST HOUSE IN UTAH, BUILT IN SEPTEMBER, 1847



THE LION HOUSE, SALT LAKE CITY

Designed and built by Brigham Young for the accommodation of his family. It is now used as a laboratory of Home Economics of the Latter Day Saints High Schools.

top of the front portico, was built of native adobe with very thick walls. It had many windows, good chimneys, stone flagged cellars, connected by long-outstretching halls. There were kitchens, store rooms, a large dining-room, a weave room, a wash-room, and a temporary schoolroom in the lower or basement floor.

The wash-room was fitted with two built-in great copper boilers heated by a brick fireplace beneath. The wooden tubs were supplemented by a huge "pounding" barrel in the corner, with its large wooden hammer or pestle, wherein clothes were placed for the "second wash." This hammer was manipulated by one of the hired men, our good old friend, Jimmie Works, who also carried the water for all culinary purposes from the pump in the central court of the home. The wives had regular days and hours of washing and Jimmy Works was always there to pound the steaming clothes in the barrel, lift the wooden tubs and carry the heavy baskets out to the clothes lines across the yard.

There was an efficient system of drainage and the kitchen garbage was carried away daily and used to feed the farm animals, though we did not keep pigs. Father taught us that pork was not healthful, and he set the example in his own family.

All the store rooms were stone flagged. In one were shelves where milk was kept and cheese piled; stored fruit was in another; vegetables in stone bins in another. In the weave room, cloth was spun and woven, until the local woollen mills put the hand-loom out of use. Then this room was used for various household purposes. The daughters gathered here in the summer time to look over strawberries and green peas for the large family table. Outside in the central courts was the stone receptacle for ashes, lest live coals start fires.

In the basement, on the north-west side of the house, was a long hall which we called the schoolroom because the children were taught here until the school-house was built six years later. The basement hall was then, in 1862, used as a gathering room for the young people and fitted up with a "step-stove" on which they popped corn and made molasses candy. Between the windows were marble-topped tables and above them two large silver hooks on which the candy was "pulled." We all had a great deal of fun in this room. The boys would pop the corn and the girls would cook the candy and twist it into fancy patterns.

This room served occasionally as a little private theatre. Here my sister Dora produced her original play "Love and Prejudice." Costumes were borrowed from the Salt Lake City Theatre and the play was produced entirely by us children. Father came with the manager of the theatre, Hyrum B. Clawson, and no doubt they found as much humour in the crudity of the production as they ever found when professionals produced laboured farces.

In that home, built in a far desert land in 1856 every room was well ventilated, and had good windows. All but a few of the upper bedrooms had fireplaces. Father knew that fresh air was vitally necessary in homes and public assemblies. Chimneys and open windows provided good outlets and inlets. All the family were taught hygienic principles and rules of simple living and high thinking.

On the main floor were the sitting-rooms of the wives who had children and a large front parlour which was used as a prayer-room and as a gathering place for the family. The upper floor held twenty rooms, a few of which were used as sitting-rooms by some of my father's childless wives and as bedrooms for the older children. Each sitting-room was fitted with a roomy clothes closet, and there were plenty of windows for light and ventilation and a big fireplace, although in later years some open Franklin stoves were used to make the larger rooms perfectly comfortable in mid-winter.

The stairs had wide short treads and graceful banisters, while the halls were divided by glass partitions. Hallways on the first and second floors led out to the small courtyard where stood the pump from which water was drawn by the hired man, for all culinary purposes. The court was roomy enough to give light to the buildings which surrounded the square on three sides—the Bee Hive House on the east, the Church offices on the south, and the Lion House on the west.

The lion on the front portico, over the entrance, is the famous stone lion by the English artist, William Ward, who had made the stone font in the Nauvoo Temple, which was supported on the backs of twelve oxen. Father was fond symbols, especially when the representatives were artistic and had meaning. The Lion of the Tribe of Judah was well known to this Bible student. The Bee Hive was the state symbol of Utah, and the wide pinioned eagle carved over the gate was the symbol of American freedom, and a frequent air denizen of these mountain heights.

A long porch was added by father to the west side of the Lion House in the early 'sixties to serve as a home gymnasium, where we all took our regular exercises. In the summer this was used as a sleeping porch for the younger members of the family.

The workmanship of this building, as well as that of the Bee Hive House built two years previously, was of superior honest quality for my father superintended every detail of it. The wood, native yellow pine, was beautifully painted and so skilfully done that to-day over seventy years after its erection, no door has ever sagged, the paint has never peeled off and the whole house is a study in colonial form.

The furnishings of those early homes were all hand-made and of the finest colonial types, for Brigham Young's skill as a cabinet-maker was well utilised here—tables with claw legs, sofas of perfect line, four-poster beds with canopies, light stands and chairs. The latter were made to fit exactly the backs and shoulders of women and children. Father used to say that men could sit comfortably on chairs four and six inches higher than women should use. He took mother and the other wives up to the cabinet-maker to have them try out patterns of chairs so that they should be comfortable.

The lace curtains which hung in graceful folds above the window line probably came from Nottingham. The floor coverings in the sitting and bedrooms were rag carpets woven by the skilled hands of the wives in the weave room. The parlour had from the first a real "store" carpet of ingrain-wool.

Everywhere there were closets with handy hooks and shelves, built-in cupboards in the parlour and all sitting-rooms which father planned to provide his family with every convenience possible. The simple, colonial patterns of all these is to-day a joy to an artistic eye. In one of the parlour cupboards were many books filled with exquisite steel engravings which came out Sundays and evenings for our delight and cultural education. The central cupboard held some lovely South Sea shells and corals with other choice rarities. On the walls of the sitting-rooms hung some rare and often beautiful engravings framed by our cabinet-maker.

The Lion House was the loved home of as healthy and happy a family of mothers and children as ever dwelt beneath a roof. On this I speak with knowledge in this intimate revelation of Brigham Young's home life, for I was the first child born under its unique roof. The wives moved in as fast as rooms were finished, my own mother moving into her sitting-room suite as the boards were being nailed on the floors and just in time for my own birth (March 18, 1856) to synchronise with the emergence of the house into livable reality.

The entrance of a spirit from the Higher World into an earthly tabernacle was a sacred event in our happy home life. Many were so born, and all were lovingly welcomed. There was always joy and gladness attaching to such an event for we were always taught that "children are an heritage of the Lord."

Dear, great-hearted Aunt Zina was the gentle priestess who presided over most of the beds of birth and death, sickness and pain. She, together with Aunt Clara, my own mother (Lucy Bigelow) and splendid Aunt Eliza R. Snow, were the various nurses and authorities on all the ills humanity is heir to. Aunt Zina had her hands full always for she had been given excellent training as a midwife and nurse by Dr. Willard Richards and other pioneer physicians.

Although Aunt Zina and Aunt Eliza were frequently the nurses in the household, each mother was herself self-reliant and skilled in the uses of herbs and ointments. But these two tender souls added the gift of powerful faith and there was healing power in their ministering hands. All the infantile diseases went the rounds—measles, whooping cough, mumps and chicken-pox. We never suffered from diphtheria and typhoid fever; our rigid sanitary arrangements prevented that. The cows and their milkers were made the subject of local soap ablutions before the milking process began, a most advanced step for those days. Consumption was practically unknown, although father's first wife died of that disease in New York State, just after he joined the Church.

We wore the usual asafetida bag in times of measles, were kept shut up with sulphured sheets over the doorways if a contagious disease was suspected, and were carefully nursed with herbs and "consecrated oil" and blessed frequently according to the faith or otherwise of our particular mothers. It may be explained that the power of faith in healing has been recognised by the Church from the beginning; and that administration, following the practices of the early Christian Church, is to anoint the patient with pure olive oil blessed for that purpose, and then to pray for him.

Wise old Dr. Sprague sometimes looked at our protruded tongues and put us through a course of odious steam baths over a tub of hot water and gave us an occasional gargle or a lobelia emetic as he or nature seemed to require.

If there were any heavy hearts, except when sore sickness or death invaded the home, we children knew nothing of it. It is singular, but true, that in all those years the shadow of death hung over the Lion House only four times, and that was for Aunt Clara Chase and for three children in their very early years.

Our marriages were performed in the Temple or House of the Lord. There was a quiet supper given, but never great social affairs with guests and presents and cards of invitation. Again, the New England customs formed the basis of our traditions and habits. Luxury was unknown, fashion riots were deplored, and we were married in all simplicity, with a deeply sacred atmosphere pervading the event rather than any hilarious or unseemly display. The great majority of my brothers and sisters were well and happily married. There were a few marital disasters; only enough to punctuate the rule. All were married, none remained single. Father himself, when able, performed the ceremony over the sacred altar, sealing husband to wife and wife to husband for the endless ages of eternity, unless sinning broke the covenant and released the innocent party. He gave homes to his daughters, as to his sons.

Food and meal-times in the Lion House were necessarily exact as to time and measured as to servings. Plenty of milk, vegetables, and fruit, but careful helpings of meat and desserts. Simple as it was, the food was of the very best quality, and the cooking could not have been excelled by any foreign chef. All father's wives were excellent cooks.

One of the very best cooks and managers was "Aunt Twiss," and she was in charge of the kitchen staff in the Lion House. She had no children and she loved her work. System was her second name. She had two hired cooks and two dish washers and she needed them. At first the bread was "salt risen" (no yeast but raised with "sponge") and it was baked in the brick oven in the kitchen, but when Henry Golightly established a bakery in the city, father had the bread brought from there. He was ever eager to minimise labour for women as well as for men; that is why he wanted to establish community living.

When fifty or more people are fed three times a day some system must be observed. Breakfast was always ready at 8 o'clock in the summer and 8.30 in the winter. The bell rang five minutes before that time and I can assure you that every child was waiting for the sound of the bell for if they were not there on time they failed to get their meals. The meal hours struck regularly in our hungry interiors, strange as that may seem. Nothing was allowed between meals (except apples or other fruit) unless unavoidable circumstances made us late for meals when served. Father was keenly sensible as to the conservation of time and strength in order to achieve comfort with the least possible friction in human operations.

Breakfast consisted of eggs and toast with milk and fruits or with "warmed over" potatoes, a little baked squash or other vegetables in the winter; these with tomatoes, always milk gravy, and fruit, varied the breakfast monotony. Buckwheat cakes appeared occasionally in winter with real maple syrup. Father never lost his Vermont taste for maple syrup and used to send to Vermont for the sugar, and the cooks made it into syrup.

At dinner time there was plenty of good bread, the flour not too well rolled and therefore not robbed of its life-giving properties; potatoes usually cooked in their skins and other vegetables all "in the season thereof" and plenty of them. Beef or mutton was served sparingly, with chicken on Sunday and occasionally mountain trout in summer time. Turkey always came on Thanksgiving Day, Christmas and New Year. Sunday's roast or stewed chicken was sometimes varied with venison, bear steak, or wild fowl. The best of pie, cakes or pudding was served for a simple dessert.

The pie was cut into six pieces and noses were counted. Never was it cut into four pieces or eight pieces, always six.

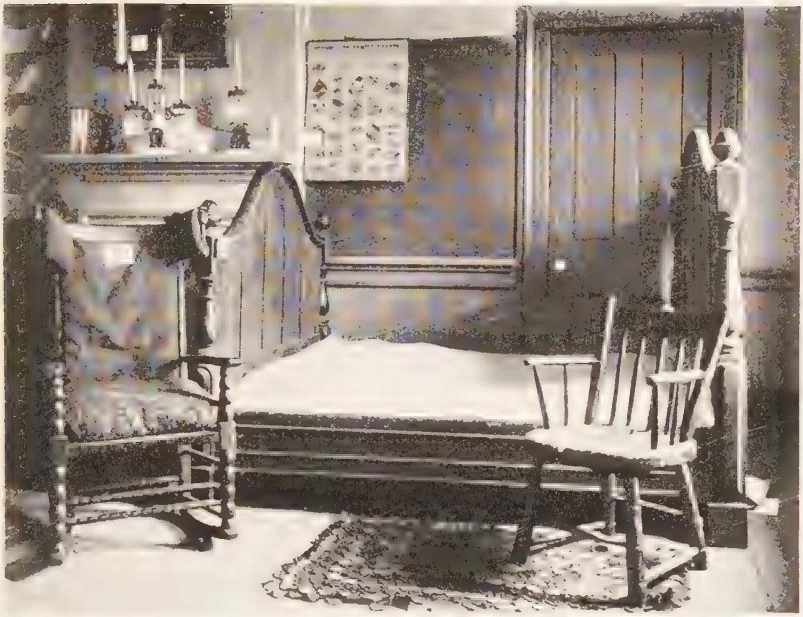
In my childhood days this measured amount of pie seemed a great affliction. But there was no restriction on the quantity of the other items, only the desserts and "sweets." Many a time I have traded off my piece of pie to some of the girls or have "swapped" my seat in the theatre (the family all had seats in the theatre) to one of the cooks for an extra piece of pie. The filling of dried apples, squash, native black currants, gooseberry, plum, or custard and reasonably rich, flaky crust made it always the acme of culinary perfection.

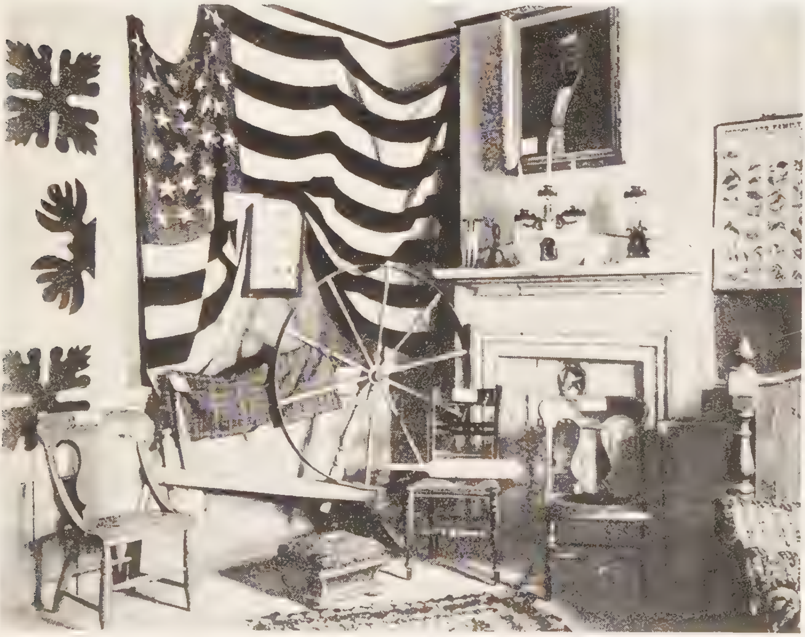
The day's work for father did not begin till after 9 o'clock in the morning, for he rarely arose before 8 o'clock, as he held his most important council meetings in the evening or went to other meetings. These meetings were interspersed occasionally with his few recreations—the theatre, or an occasional dancing party—so he seldom retired before midnight. Yet he slept soundly when he did get to bed. He said that he had trained himself to "shut up his thinker" when he went to bed and to go to sleep at once. The rule of eight hours' sleep, eight hours' work, and eight hours' recreation was a plan he himself carried out fairly well.

His breakfast was a simple meal of bread, milk, a boiled egg, and fruit; eaten always in the Bee Hive House where his private apartments were for a number of years; it was quiet there. Aunt Lucy Decker Young who presided there, was also an exquisite housekeeper and knew how to smooth over the rough exteriors of life's hardest burdens for her adored husband.

Father ate no luncheon, or dinner as we called it then. The day's work for him was continuous, sometimes broken by meetings or business, by funeral calls, by trips here and there or by visits to inspect waterways or roadways, public works on the Temple or other public buildings. Every strenuous moment was filled, yet never with exhausting hurry or worry. Either was impossible where he was concerned.

Supper was ready at 5 o'clock. Father had his "cooked





THE BEDROOM IN SALT LAKE CITY WHERE BRIGHAM YOUNG DIED
SHOWING THE FURNITURE THEN IN USE AND SOME
OF THE RELICS OF THE LEADER

meal" at that hour. Aunt Eliza R. Snow always sat at his right and Aunt Twiss usually sat on his left, where she could serve the meal as necessary. No wife was ever jealous of the seat of honour accorded to Aunt Eliza. Her superior gifts and tender spiritual sympathy endeared her to the wives and children as well as making her a womanly counsellor for father. We all loved and honoured her. The rest of the family had mush and milk (corn meal mush or hominy usually) with plenty of good milk and cheese, bread, fresh fruit, or baked apples or stewed fruits in the season.

Supper-time was a time to listen to good and jovial conversation, yet there was never anything approaching boisterous laughter or unseemly mirth. It was just a happy carefree release from the day's study or burden when the father and his adoring family would join in congenial intercourse.

Father oftentimes brought visitors. Especially was he fond of the young and handsome representative of the Prophet's family, Joseph F. Smith, son of the martyred Patriarch, Hyrum Smith. Often there would be out-of-town visitors and occasional strangers who were deserving of some unusual attention.

On Sundays and holidays, only two meals were served. At 9.30 came breakfast so that we could go to the meeting or Sunday School in the morning, and supper was at 4.30 after the afternoon meeting. In this new country, when each man was a pioneer, we ate, "dinner and supper" rather than "luncheon and dinner."

Cold water or buttermilk was father's only drink. If he was chilled he sometimes had a cup of "composition" or "peppermint tea." His preferred diet, when he could regulate it without offence to his own family or to his many hosts while travelling, was buttermilk and Johnny cake, the New England fare upon which he was reared.

"When we go on a trip to the settlements," he said, "and stop at the brethren's houses it is 'Brother Brigham, let us manifest our feelings toward you and your company.' I tell them to do so, but to give me a piece of Johnny cake; I would rather have it than their pies and tarts and sweetmeats. Let me have something that will sustain nature and leave my stomach and whole system clear to receive the Spirit of the Lord and be free from headache and pains of every description."

Fruit he always enjoyed, especially apples. His favourite occasional sweet was molasses cake or candy, and honey or maple syrup. He carried a peppermint drop or a few raisins always in his pocket—not for himself, but for little children, his own and others, who loved him dearly because of his kindness and attention.

In his later years he was troubled with rheumatism, which is now known to be a nutritional disease. It may have been partly due to the rich foods which he felt he must accept or give offence when visiting friends or on his many trips. But he was ever a moderate eater though not abstemious and always believed in eating wholesome nourishing foods.

His habits in life were regular and exceedingly simple. The last twenty-five years of his life were spent in mental rather than physical toil and he himself complained that his diet was chosen for him rather than by him. Because of his involuntary lack of exercise (there was no golf in those days) he became rather portly as he grew older.

# XXVIII

## HOME MORALE

A Strict Observer of the "Word of Wisdom"—Gives up Tobacco Chewing—Denounces the Liquor Traffic—Evening Prayers at the Lion House—Family Gatherings—A Juvenile Court—Sleeping Habits—Strict Observance of the Sabbath—Pastimes—Love of Music—Leader's Daily Routine—Office Work—Days of Council-Taking—Meeting Stopped Because of Sick Child—No Class Distinction in the Household—Servants as Members of the Family—Pervasive Influence—Courtesy to His Wives—Neither Feeble-Minded nor Saints—Domestic Harmony Assured by Their Sacrificial Spirit—The Farm House—A Place of Entertainments and Picnics.

Brigham Young was a strict observer of the "Word of Wisdom" as revealed by the Prophet in 1833 which prohibits the use of all stimulants and tobacco. His wives may not always have been as rigid as he was concerning the use of tea and coffee, but the family was certainly taught that its careful observance was the way of health.

As a young man my father chewed tobacco. In after years he told the story of that conquered appetite. "I carried a half plug of tobacco in my pocket for a long time," he said. "When the gnawing for it seemed unbearable I would take it out, look at it, and say 'Are you, or is Brigham going to be master?' Then it went back untouched into my pocket." He denounced the liquor traffic and all drunkenness; "If I had the influence the world gives me credit for," he once said, "I would not have a single drunkard, thief, or liar in this society. I do not profess to have that influence, but I can raise my voice against these evils."

The custom of evening prayer-time in the Lion House was as fixed as the stars. About seven o'clock the rhythmic sound of the prayer-bell was heard as father's hand lifted it in regular light-stroke counts, and the flying feet of children, the quiet coming of his lady wives (for they were "ladies" every one of them) filled the halls with clatter and soon every chair was taken while the patriarch and his goodly family sat beside the centre-table and waited till the last child came in.

A hymn or two was joyously sung, for we were a happy lot of singers. Then came the quiet prayer of gratitude and adoration; of appeal for each loved one and for all the world; for the work of the Lord in the various priestly functionings and for protection from evil and accident. Then the family arose after the generous responses of "Amen," while the younger children flitted off to bed, perhaps, and older ones hurried to study or to prepare for theatre or ball if it was winter or holiday time, or for quiet reading and chatting in the various sitting-rooms of the several mothers. Father often remained to talk over the events of the day with such of his wives as cared to remain, and some of the older children. Around that evening counsel table golden words of wisdom and guidance were uttered, and out of those councils have come many of the splendid opportunities for woman's advancement and her mission within and without the home.

After the prayers were over father would often turn to us and say: "Come, girls, let's have some music," for they were all musicians of sorts those Young boys and girls, and father loved to hear us sing and play. We would gather round the piano and sing his favorite "Hard Times Come Again No More," or "Auld Lang Syne," or, in the later years, "Silver Threads Among the Gold." Hymns were sung Sunday evenings, for he did not allow us to play dance music on the Sabbath.

After prayer-time also there were family councils held about forthcoming family policies, picnic parties, and sometimes there were juvenile troubles to settle, with father as judge of the Juvenile Court. One such event had its humorous side as so many of our family episodes had.

It happened that some of the boys were playing at the pump, squirting water upon each other, from hands pressed at the nozzle mouth. All were wet after this performance and then Ernest took the occasion to indulge in the strictly forbidden prank of stone-throwing, delivering a smashing blow on Hydie's head. The injured boy went howling to his mother, and later of course a Juvenile Court was convened at prayer-time.

"Ernest," asked father after hearing several tearful charges and counter-charges, "did you throw the stone that hit Hydie on the head?"

"Well it was like this, father," he answered. "What goes up must come down, on your head or on the ground. And the rock came down, and Hydie didn't get out of the way and so he got hit."

"Well," said father, judicially, while struggling with laughter inside, "did you see this take place?" and on his replying in the affirmative he was instructed to tell exactly how it all happened. He did so honestly and frankly in great minuteness of detail. Then father said:

"What did you do, Ernest?"

"I just looked on."

Court adjourned amid peals of laughter.

There were occasional childish quarrels, for we were a healthy vigorous lot and exceedingly human. Boys were often rough and little girls were easily teased. However, there was nearly always an elder brother or sister to take the part of little ones and to fight childish battles for the weaker ones.

I recall a youthful tragedy. Mother had clothed me in the splendour of starched pink cambric and ruffled pantalettes to go to some festival. I slipped out and ran across the road to the font where many children were splashing and swimming.

"Oh," I said, "I wish I was in there!"

"Then go!" cried one of my brothers as he pushed me headlong into the pool. At mother's rebuke for the soiled finery

I sobbed: "I should think you'd be glad I didn't get drownded!" There was something to do every minute, plenty of places for play in play hours, and certainly no chance for loneliness.

We were extremely regular in our sleeping habits as well as in our eating habits. The outer gates of the high stone wall around the Lion House were always locked at 10 o'clock at night. When we were at the theatre or a party we had to come in through the office door and be scrutinised there by the watchman. He noted if you had come home with desirable or undesirable company. Under these circumstances one did not linger on the corner gossiping with the girls or sparking one's "Best Beau" more than a quarter of an hour after the close of the theatre or one might get reported to father.

Lights were pretty generally out at 10 o'clock, and we were all up by seven or half-past seven in the morning. In the summer time, the boys slept on the lower porch, and the girls, on the upper porch, in the happiest and gayest of child companionship, innocent and unafraid. Straw beds and feather beds spread on canvas with a good quilt for cover, and an uplifted prayer of praise gave us a sense of nearness to the stars that compensated for the shudder with which little girls sometimes heard the coyotes howling in the near-by hills. All sorts of ghost stories and jokes passed from bed to bed on those lovely summer evenings. When we slept indoors, mother insisted on opening our windows even in winter, for father was quite "set" upon having ample ventilation in both winter and summer.

The fireplaces and later the stoves, in all the sitting-rooms were somewhat of a care, for father was extremely cautious of fires. Each night, when the family had retired, he came with his candle in each of the sitting-rooms to see that there were no live coals on the hearth.

The Sabbath was strictly observed. No play, no secular reading or music, or roaming the hills. Little bodies might grow restless, nerves frazzled and eyes sleepy during the Sunday School and afternoon meetings, but they were Puritan descendants and the spirit of modern "jazz" was an unknown human problem in those days. Visitors to the young people were welcomed Sunday evenings, but they must attend prayers and gaiety must be measurably subdued.

Card playing was never allowed. We could play checkers and chess on week-days, but not on Sundays. Father was ever averse to games of chance that encouraged or suggested gambling in any form. But we were never dull. Far from it. Our music helped us and then we played other interesting games for there were thirty or forty of us. Father was a natural musician and knew the value of music and the important part it plays in the life of a great people. He fostered and encouraged the study and practice of music, not only in his own family, but among the people. We had three organs and two pianos. One of the latter was brought across the plains in 1848 and is still in existence in our Church Museum.

Father's habits were regular and well ordered. The office force were all at work when he entered his own private office between 9 and 10 o'clock, and no ripple or flurry ever marked his coming or going. One knew instantly when he was in the room, but his penetrating influence had been there all the time, resting peacefully over everything and everybody so that no one was surprised to see him enter. His presence was like light and sunshine and "benediction after prayer."

Clerks brought in correspondence, officials and people came for counsel or help. The stream of visitors poured steadily through the outer office and trickled in orderly sequence into his own office, hour after hour. No one was ever denied admittance. His two counsellors, various members of the Twelve who were at home, sat with him and gave opinions or help in the various matters presented for the Leader's decision.

He was exceedingly quick at reaching the core of any matter brought to his attention, and was sometimes impatient with the circumlocution or hesitancy of his callers, especially so if guile were used in leading up to the point of issue. At such times he would interrupt a caller or a council meeting, would state the issue and answer yes or no, quietly and decisively. He was never ambiguous or involved in answer or statement, nor did he waste time or words. The kindly tone, the sympathetic glance, softened the rigour of the denial, added joy to the affirmative yes. He used to say that he knew when men wanted him to say yes and he usually gratified that desire. Again he advised men and women not to ask for counsel when they were sure they were not going to take it. And that was the day of counsel-taking and counsel-receiving. It was a day when the building of houses, planting of farms and gardens, cities and mills, roads and canyon-logging—all was in process of swift evolution and adjustment. Bishops and Apostles could answer the great mass of detailed questions, but they often lacked the larger vision and the relative values of men and measures.

And the people sought their leader. Many of them felt that their own single problems could be solved by him as by no other. The orphaned child, the struggling emigrant who came out of former professional life and therefore had difficulty of adjustment to pioneer conditions; the widow, the oppressed wife, the man with the new project, these and thousands more like them knocked at that freely opened door to be received by "Brother Brigham" and helped as they needed help, one and all.

Father loved all the people, and the people returned that affection in full measure. He loved his family with a deep and tender concern which expressed itself not only in providing them all with good homes, opportunities for education, healthful recreation, but he also surrounded his household with a spirit of courtesy and consideration which became a part of the inheritance of every child. Mothers differ greatly in temperament and looks, yet each child bore upon face and form, in mind and spirit, so deep an impress of the father himself, that looks and characteristics of the Youngs passed into a social proverb. It is given to few men so to impress history that names live on while cities crumble and die. It is given to few men so to etch their lives and spirits into the character of their descendants that even to the fifth and sixth generation strangers find the impress of the ancestor indelibly fixed upon the physical and mental traits of all who bear his name.

This great leader was so just, so true, so genuine in his domestic relations that those who came into the household to assist, either within the confines of the house itself or without, as helpers in all the many-sided domestic, farm and field activities which marked his wide circle of home life, felt that each "belonged" to him and his family. Each man, each woman became a very part of Brigham Young's life and were interwoven into the domestic fabric for ever. Two of his daughters married his business manager, another married the telegraph clerk in his office, another his teamster, while still another married a salesman in the shop.

There was no possible class distinction in the household. If an emigrant was brought in by a sympathetic mother or child, the whole household hastened to welcome the traveller and supply all wants both social and physical. If a girl worked in the kitchen she was welcomed in the social circle and married off to relatives of the family or friends in exactly the same way that daughters were remembered. Indeed, we were all "one in Christ Jesus."

Since mature vision has provided me with mental balancing scales, I have compared this community family life with the drab institutional life of "homes" and "retreats." We were all as happy, mothers and children, as we could have been anywhere or under any other circumstances. Incredible as this sounds, the law of compensation, and the spirit or genius of the Lion House makes it true. Work and the mean pressure of grinding poverty was minimised and shared willingly by all. Above the whole of life bent an azure sky of divine conviction and conversion, lit by twinkling stars of human love, child to child, mother to mother, each conscious that God and our adored earthly father approved of us and shared our every joy and sorrow. His influence actually pervaded every corner of that Lion House and its vast surroundings. His love, we all knew, was as deep as that of our mothers, as understanding as was that of a bosom companion, and as surrounding as warmth and sunlight.

On one occasion when he learned that one of his children was very ill and calling for him he stopped a council meeting declaring to the assembly that the meeting could wait, but his sick child could not.

Father was great in his handling of large affairs, in his infinite power to mould men and measures; but if he had failed, as he himself once said, in his duties as husband and father, "he would have waked up in the morning of the First Resurrection to find that he had failed in everything." He was so eminently successful in his home that no one ever related to him, or who benefited by his friendship, ever failed to return in full the measure he gave of love, heaped and running over.

His beautiful courtesy was never more in evidence than when he approached any one of his wives whom he loved and who loved him. Especially was that so when in the company of Mother Young, whose health was rather poor and who had borne the heat and burden of the day for him and with him. To her he paid exquisite attention, quiet, composed but sincere. His attitude of consideration towards her was reflected in that of every other wife and child he had.

The wives of Brigham Young lived together without outer friction or violent disagreement so far as any of us children knew. That they were all equally congenial could not be expected for they were not weaklings and all "had minds of their own." But their differences, if and when they existed, were their own affairs and were settled amongst themselves without disturbing in the slightest degree the serene tranquility of our family life. They were ladies, and lived their lives as such. The children were never aware of any quarrels and indeed they could not have been serious or the children must have been aware of them.

Such a condition can only be explained in one of two ways: either these women were feeble-minded, or they were consecrated saints, who accepted the psychology of their situation as a necessary part of the revealed Gospel. They had themselves drawn from the lessons of family adjustments, learned around their own early home hearths, the truth that personal desire, of necessity, gave way to parental discipline; as well as the associated fact that peace and family progress can proceed only along more or less self-denying lines. These women were all converts to the new and violently unpopular religion.

The joy, the happiness of their lives came through the delightful upspringing growth in spiritual beauty, in the confidence and friendship of each other, and in the reverence and love manifested by their intelligent God-fearing husband, Brigham Young, who knew the difficult upward path they each were treading because of the strain which justice and mercy put upon him in the adjustments and readjustments necessary for himself.

Not all these good women were sweet-tempered or unselfish —not by any means. They were just mortals. But there were enough of them who radiated love and comradeship in ever-widening circles to humanise the group. If all wanted to be happy, each must share in unselfish contribution to family harmony; at least they all tried, and all succeeded, so far as my brothers and sisters or I can remember.

What was true of Brigham Young's family is true also in the case of most of those other great and good men who entered into this patriarchal order of marriage. There may have been exceptions—there must have been, because men and women in those days were only human as they are to-day. But there were truly many successful happy patriarchal families.

The "ups and downs" of the founding and living of this order of marriage may only be guessed at by the thoughtful reader. That such conditions exist even in the most rigid monogamous relationship no one may deny. And so long as people are human there will remain the inevitable crossing of human wills and the undeniable right to change one's mind.

Such right was claimed by only one of father's many wives, one of the Bigelow sisters whom he married in Winter Quarters, Aunt Mary Jane, the sister of my own dear mother. Because of conditions, neither of the sisters was wife in fact either at Winter Quarters or during the journey. After arrival in the Valley, Aunt Mary Jane decided that it would be impossible for her to be happy as the plural wife of any man, even a Prophet of the Lord. So she went to father, explained her feelings, and asked to be released from her vows.

Her wish was readily granted with no bad feeling on either side, for Brigham Young believed that in all respects and in marriage especially women should exercise their complete free agency. She was the only wife to voluntarily leave father's home and protection, except Ann Eliza who "loving not wisely but too well," yielded to the temptation of filthy lucre to show her revenge. All others remained loyal and true throughout their lives.

Around the Lion House father planted noble gardens of trees, shrubs and flowers, to gladden the eye and beautify the surroundings as well as to give wholesome food to the family. Here were grown the choicest of apples, pears and plums, as well as many kinds of fruits, such as grapes, currants, raspberries and gooseberries. Beyond the corrals was a peach orchard with its shed, put up by father, where we girls were allowed to dry all the peaches we desired and to sell them for pin money. There was a good market for them in the stores.

That was a glorious week during the peach-drying season. We often invited friends to come in and help us, and the boys would spread the peaches on the benches outside, or come and gather them all in out of the threatening showers. On the last evening of the drying season we had a feast and a dance in the school-house. In the lower garden there was an apple cellar. Here all kinds of apples were deposited on shelves and every Saturday we used to repair to the cellar with our baskets and bring away our regular portion of apples for the week's use.

After settling in the Valley a few years Brigham Young decided that a farm in the outskirts of the city was necessary for his large family and their various needs. A farm house of adobe was built, with a milk and cheese house a few feet away, the two connected by a closed porchway. Here one of his wives, Aunt Susan Snively, lived, cooking for the men who attended to the farm, and directing the making of the cheese and butter with the care of the poultry also. Others of his wives were here at times for a year or more. My mother, Lucy Bigelow Young, lived in the old farm house for a year with her two little girls about 1861. A year or so later the modest dwelling was replaced by a modern cottage of generous proportions and was known as "The Farm House."

It was the centre of a generous tract of land with meadows, great waving fields of grain, potato and corn-fields, and in two sections of it were growing forests of mulberry and black locust trees. The object of the mulberry trees was to establish sericulture in the State and the locust trees were to be used for making domestic furniture.

The farm house, which was four miles out of the city, became a favourite place for entertainments and picnics. Sometimes father would have a party for us all when we stayed the night, making beds on the floor, girls sleeping with mothers and the boys up in the hay loft.

The farm was occasionally the scene of festivities on a most generous scale. For a number of years New Year's Day was celebrated by father and his numerous family with a few of his closest associates in house parties at the farm house. It was here that upon two occasions he brought the famous actress, Julia Dean Hayne, as a guest for these gay festivities. It was in her honour that the sleigh was named —the mammoth long sleigh with its high driver's seat, its green painted sides outspringing in graceful curves and holding in its capacious hay- and buffalo-robe-filled box a bevy of nearly fifty children of various ages all cuddled down under the buffalo robes on hay and all bubbling with laughter and excitement over the expected festivities of the holiday season. Drawn by six spirited horses all jingling and jangling with the most musical of sleigh bells, the driver's long whip used skilfully and delicately on the glossy sides of the prancing teams, the brilliant stars overhead saw no merrier sight than this sleigh full of unalloyed happiness just behind the Leader's cutter, and followed by the more dignified sleighs holding the mothers of these children on their way for a gala house party at the farm.

Entering the front door we were at once in the dining-room with its odorous breath from bake-ovens of mince-pies and roast-beef with the more delicate aroma of stewing chickens and squash pies. The hungry children were crowded through the dining-room into the great central sitting-room and then raced upstairs to remove neck comforters and cloaks, with the heavy outer woollen stockings, which served as both leggings and overshoes, that they might race the faster back into the long dancing hall which spread across the south end of the house. In the sitting room was the wonderful music-box whose exquisite selections from "Il Trovatore" and "The Swiss Echo Song" trilled and pealed along its curved and pin-pointed rollers in the most mysterious and uncanny fashion. Here, too, were the winged rocking chairs of home manufacture, rush bottomed, feather cushioned and antimacassared in the latest pioneer fashion.

The usual band of musicians sat in the end of the hall and sometimes even the music-box was sufficient for eager couples to "Chassé to the right," "Balance on the corner," and "All promenade." Jim Currie was the popular "caller" of the day and the leader's son-in-law, Hyrum B. Clawson, was a past grand master at floor managing, and, indeed, as the master of ceremonies, on all such occasions.

Here the "Ten Big Girls," came with their crowd of beaux, usually brought down in individual cutters, or at most in double sleighs beneath the warm shelter of soft buffalo robes. Here also came the First Presidency as invited guests. It was a big, happy, jovial house party. There were the occasional resting places in the festivities when a good story teller was brought out, singers heard in ballad or choral music, these intermissions being rounded off with stirring patriotic and apt remarks from the leader or his associate brethren applicable to the time and place.

The farm house served an even greater purpose than the special one for which it was designed, for it embodied the realisation of a domestic ideal which carried its message, through example, into every hamlet and house in the Church. No need to urge the Elders of Israel to "live with the children," to "get back to Nature," to "find God through flowers and fields and clouds." The old farm house was a beacon light and shining example to all Israel and to the world itself during the years of its active existence.

# XXIX

## HOME PRACTICES

Leader Builds a School for His Children—Specially Equipped and Furnished—Recess Hours and Vacations—Boys who Preferred Work to School—One Son Enters the Army—All Wives Good Housekeepers—Summer Picnics—Home-Made Gymnasium—Dancing Lessons—Ann Eliza Webb Pleads for Marriage—Only Wife that Turned against Brigham Young—Home as Woman's Right—Leader's Impartiality—Finances of the Lion House—Justice to Wives and Children—Testimony of His Living Children.

THE Lion House was finished in 1856 and six years later father built a large school-house, as his children had long outgrown the school room in the Lion House. The windows were built comparatively high as father declared that the light should not fall directly on the pupils' eyes. The benches and desks were unique. We sat on benches or wooden chairs with desks in front of us, the little ones in the front row. Both benches and desks exactly fitted to our backs and legs so that we suffered no discomfort by having to hang our feet or to stoop over the desk. Each child had a separate desk with sloping lid and place for ink bottles in the corner. I preserved my desk which I have recently placed in the Museum.

School opened at 9 o'clock and was dismissed at 4 p.m. with a dinner interval from 12 to 1.30. In the morning there was a recess of an hour and another half hour diversion in the afternoon. How delightful were those breaks! In the summer the near-by hills furnished romping space if we did not go too far. The grassy surroundings of the school-house permitted all sorts of games and plays. In the winter we could go "coasting" down the many hills, and the pond was not far away where we could skate—weather permitting. Roller skates were all right for summer, but oh, the joy of skimming the ice with sharp-shod skates under one.

The long three months summer vacation was spent by us out on the hills and canyon back of our house; the little girls flower- and sego-hunting and the small boys playing games. The big girls had to weave, colour, spin, sew and knit. The big boys helped out on the farm, hauling wood, and doing other useful labour. The girls were early trained in all the domestic arts of knitting, spinning, weaving, sewing, embroidering, cooking and cleaning. A little pin money was most desirable, and if we wanted extra ribbons or finery we had to earn it. The boys had various ways of earning money also: ushering in the theatre, chores for others, etc.

Father believed in work as well as play. He saw to it that his boys, eager for fun and action, had a chance to translate their superabundant vitality into productive action. One of my brothers, Willard, tells a story about this. He with another brother, Ernest, tried father out on the "work question."

They appealed to him one day when they were about thirteen years of age to let them go to work and leave school. Father told them they must go back and talk it over with their mothers and older sisters and then come to him. They returned with the desired consent and then father told them that he wanted them to stay by their decision; they could work a while and then go to school a while. He was quite willing that they should work for one or more years and then they would perhaps be willing to go to school and work hard at that. They went to work on the farm in teaming and wood-hauling. After a year they were eager enough to get back to school.

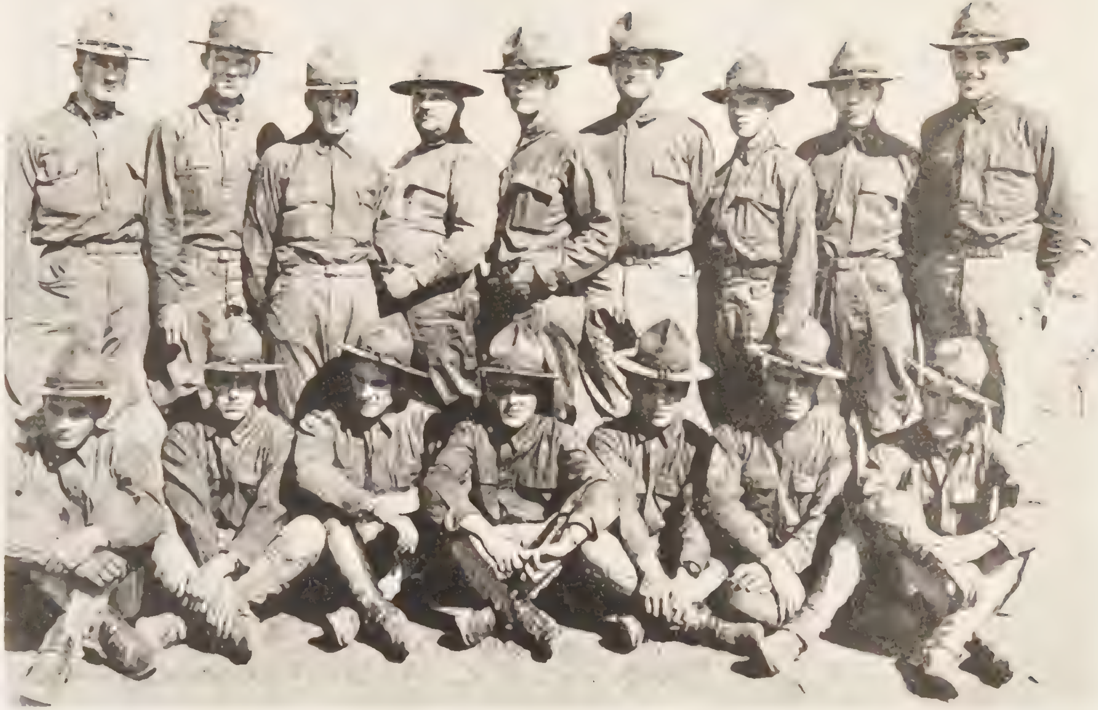
Father gave opportunity for any of his children to go East to become proficient in any chosen profession. Some of the children accepted his offer. But at that time in pioneer history and in most places in the United States there were few colleges open to women and it was not "the thing" for girls to get a college education as it is to-day. So most girls married young. Then, too, the problem of pioneer progress pressed so heavily upon young as well as old that most young men were forced into the field of active life before many years of schooling could be enjoyed.

But Willard early decided that he was going into the army. When his decision was made and arrangements completed for him to go to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, father gave him a special blessing to "gain this useful knowledge and through the light of truth make it subservient for the building up of the Kingdom of God." In one of his letters home Willard spoke of his attending the Protestant Episcopal Church to which father replied: "I have no objections whatever; on the contrary I would like to have you attend and see what they can teach you about God and Godliness more than you have already been taught." After a long and useful military career, Willard is now a retired colonel in the United States army.

Many of the children and grandchildren have received advanced education and made honoured names for themselves and the Church to which they belong.

All of our mothers, or "aunts" as we called them, were good housekeepers and they divided up the home tasks so that there was both system and lack of friction in the labours. The care of the parlours, the halls, attic, and each one's sitting-room, with the laundry, sewing, weaving in the earlier years, with baby-tending and Relief Society work, kept our mothers and ourselves busy all day. My mother's task was the care of the Lion House parlour. And if there was ever a spot of dust on the chairs or mouldings, a stain on the curtains or a chair awry I cannot recall such a tragedy! However, all was not monotonous toil. Mothers and father also took children on trips here and there; and had picnics and fun generally.

The greatest fun of all was enjoyed in the "Font." Father had built a small water pool, with canyon cold water running in and out constantly, and there we would take our daily



GRANDSONS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG WHO FOUGHT IN THE GREAT WAR

plunge; the girls at one time and the boys at another. Separate dressing rooms, permitted us to be secluded, and on each side of the font were two big wooden doors, which protected the girls from the gaze of curious and mischievous brothers and boy friends. Cold as the water was, running down from the snow-clad hills, the sun would warm it by recess or noon; then it was delightful.

Then there was the joy of the Great Salt Lake in which bathing and swimming were welcome diversions to the usual Saturday picnic or canyon excursion.

Another delightful excursion was to the Hot Springs, discovered by the pioneers on their entrance into the Valley. These springs furnished a winter swimming pool with hot baths for all. A dancing hall was built here and our bathing was often followed by feasting and dancing.

We had a home-made gymnasium which was generally pure enjoyment, unless we wanted sometimes to go to the font or off into the hills after school. Then it was a bit of a bore; but we had to take exercises whether we liked it or not.

One of father's sons-in-law and his business manager, Hyrum B. Clawson, was a Yankee genius, genial, sympathetic and always courteous. Yet he knew how to exact respect and obedience both from hired men and all the children. He not only seconded all father's advanced ideas on health and hygiene, but added a few of his own. While on an eastern trip in 1862 he ran into the new craze for Dio Lewis's "gymnastics," and brought back with him both plans and specifications for the simple apparatus.

It was on his return that father had a big porch added to the west side of the Lion House where we had our "gymnastics" daily, winter and summer, as I have said. This he fitted up with wooden steps, or stools, trapezes, vaulting and climbing poles, wands, hoops, back boards and jumping ropes. Here we did our "daily dozen," and those back boards and the accompanying exercises gave us all as straight backs as I have seen in a family of women and men anywhere. I have my back board still. We had bloomers of linsey to the ankles, wrists and necks, and the boys had overalls and shirts. The era of semi-nudity had not reached the so-called "civilisation" at that day!

Some of the girls took dancing lessons. Two of the littlest of the eight-year-olds, my sister Louise and I, were noted as "Fairy Dancers." We, together with Tottie Clive and Sarah Alexander, the charming and graceful teacher, danced in many a "fairy extravaganza" on the stage of the Salt Lake City Theatre. The dancing master put all of the children through their paces and the art of "left foot," "right foot," "forward," "backward" was accomplished daily with more or less agility and grace.

For ten or fifteen years all the family practically lived in the Bee Hive and Lion House. But as the children multiplied and grew up, father built or bought separate homes for most of his wives.

Mother Young had charge while in the Bee Hive House, not only of her own family but of the official duties of the home. She lived there for a short time only. The work was very heavy as all of the hired men ate there, and frequent emigrants and visitors crowded the spacious dining-room. So she moved back to the White House on the hill, and Aunt Lucy Decker Young moved into the Bee Hive House, where she lived for many happy and useful years.

It was at the close of father's life that he decided to build an official residence, as the Bee Hive House was itself now crowded with Aunt Lucy Decker Young's large and growing family. He needed a home where he could entertain strangers who came from afar to see him, as well as his many friends and official callers. It was understood that Aunt Amelia, his last wife, would live there—everybody was quite willing to have her assume these large social responsibilities. However, the house, still unfinished at father's death, was completed by President John Taylor, and named the Gardo House. It was never occupied by any member of father's family.

Father bought a fine house on upper Main Street, built by his deceased friend and Counsellor, Jedediah M. Grant, where he moved Aunt Emmeline with her large and growing family. He moved sainted Aunt Emily with her family into a smaller house on upper State Street; later building her a comfortable two-story home on 3d East Street. Aunt Zina had her cozy home on 3d South Street. Aunt Clara chose to have hers next door to the Social Hall on State Street. And what hospitality over-flowed those peaceful dwellings. Like Aunt Zina's home, Aunt Clara's was a refuge for all the troubled hearts of married or unmarried sons and daughters.

Father bought a charming old colonial house in Provo, where he moved Aunt Eliza Burgess-Young with her son Alfales. Here father had commissioned his tried and trusted friend, Abram O. Smoot, to preside over the newly organized Utah Stake of Zion. And here in 1869 father established the Provo Co-operative Woolen Mfg. Co. with himself as President and A. O. Smoot as Vice-President. A year or two later when he decided to found a Church School, he consulted with Bro. Smoot concerning this project and appointed him as business manager or President of the Board of Trustees for the Brigham Young Academy to be located in Provo. Together they selected Bro. Karl G. Maeser, a cultured Professor—formerly of the Dresden University of Germany—to act as the President of this Brigham Young University. Father always regarded Bro. Maeser as Zion's noblest and greatest educator. Here Prof. Maeser opened the school, inviting later two of father's daughters into the faculty: one to organize a Musical Department; the other, my sister Zina, to establish a Domestic Art Department, and to act as Matron.

Father often visited Provo, for he was deeply interested in the school there. He had talked over with President Smoot and Prof. Maeser the idea, which was originally suggested to him by his wise and far-sighted First Counsellor, George Q. Cannon, of building and endowing two other Church Schools, one in Logan, and the other in Salt Lake City. The Provo Institution was to be the parent Institution, for there lived Prof. Maeser and Pres. Smoot. Above all, Provo was more or less isolated from the distractions of a large city.

In 1870, father moved my mother to St. George, where he bought a good house, surrounded by a semi-tropical garden of grapes, almonds, peaches and other luscious fruits. Here he spent the last seven winters of his life, in this Dixie-land. Here lived his associate state-founder, great leader and Apostle, Erastus Snow, with his own large family; together with that other stalwart pioneer, Jacob Gates, who was one of the seven Presidents of the Seventies.

At first, father brought his friends and Aunt Amelia, as well, to spend the winter at mother's home, who rejoiced in these social contacts. But when Gen. Thomas L. Kane brought his family down to St. George in the winter of 1873, father had to ask Uncle Erastus Snow to entertain the distinguished visitors at his own spacious home, the Big House, presided over by kind Aunt Libbie Snow. Mother's home was always overcrowded. So then father built a two-story adobe house, surrounded by porches, and here, during his last two winters, Aunt Amelia or Aunt Eliza B— welcomed father's guests.

Aunt Harriet B— Young was located in a good home opposite the south Temple Gate. Just close by was the home of father's last beautiful wife, Mary Van Cott-Young.

It is a fact not unworthy of note that only one of his wives ever turned against father or her religion. Not one of his wives married again after his death though some were comparatively young women. My own mother was but little past forty-seven and Aunt Amelia was but thirty-nine years of age. Mother's love of father—her lavish devotion to him in life and to his memory after his death amounted almost to worship! That all the others felt as did my mother is proved in part by the way in which they cherished his memory and respected their widowhood.

By the years 1875–77 all the mothers with large families had moved out of the Lion House into homes of their own, and all of the older boys and girls were married.

I think that father settled his wives into homes of their own in his later years to correct what he esteemed to be a mistake of his early judgment. For when he gave me the deed to my first home in the city, in 1876, he told me that he had made a mistake. If he had his life to live over again, he said, he would give every wife a home of her own and give her the deed to it; for that was every wife's right, and nothing more than justice. He cautioned me not to deed nor give away my home, not to anyone; but to remember that a home was a woman's first possession. He brought out and showed to me at that time, the plot of the big tract of land called the Upper Garden, east and north of the Lion House, where he had marked sites for homes for all his children. Especially was he solicitous over his daughters.

The story of the finances of these homes is most interesting. "Mother Young," the first wife who lived in the Bee Hive House, also had placed in her care at first all the family supplies and material which father had gathered and purchased for domestic uses in his family.

Some of the other wives went to father one day and objected to the necessary humiliation of appealing to Mother Young for material required for clothing themselves and their children. To say that the husband and father was surprised at the unusual action states the case mildly. At once, however, he saw the point involved and he realised that neither his first wife nor the other one quite grasped the fundamental principle of that order of marriage; so he decided in his usual simple manner to illustrate the matter to them.

He invited Mother Young into their counsel. Then he held up a ring asking: "Do you see any head or tail to this ring?"

"Why, no," Mother Young replied.

"Then this," said Brigham Young, "illustrates my thought. I sit in the centre of my family, the children in a circle around their mothers, and so on and on, and each is independent, yet dependent on the others. Now these wives of mine are bearing children and when they want any supplies or material I will see that such is furnished to them."

Directly after this a storehouse was erected wherein were kept groceries, clothing, implements and necessary equipment for farming, blacksmith and carpenter supplies and all domestic necessities. John Haslam, a faithful and devoted friend, was placed in charge of this store. A monthly credit was issued to each wife, in proportion to the number of her children and her own needs.

After that, when purchases were made of dress goods, hats or shoes, the quality and price were equalised, but each one might choose for herself colours or styles. Thus were obviated opportunities for friction on financial matters, and any wife knows justice in domestic financial propositions is quite as important to happiness as justice in social and moral relations.

It is generally understood that my father had nineteen wives; but of that number some were widows and wives in name only, to whom father gave a home. Of his wives, sixteen bore him children, six of them having but one child. The rest of them had children varying from two to ten. He had fifty-six living children, ten of them dying in infancy. There were twenty-six sons and thirty daughters; twenty-one sons and twenty-five daughters lived to maturity.

It is fitting that the author should add this testimony. I was born and reared in the Lion House. In all my life in that beloved home I never heard my father speak an unkind or irritable word to one of his wives. I never heard a quarrel between my father's wives. All of them possessed the innate training of restraint mingled with religious impulse which was so much a part of the Puritan inheritance.

I never heard one of my father's wives chastise or correct another wife's children. I have heard the children quarrel, naturally, but very little of that indeed, for we were not a contentious family. Much less did I ever hear or see anything but the utmost courtesy and kindliness between my father and his wives. Correct his children he did, but each with that dignity and deliberation that neither humiliated the child nor lowered his own self-respect. He met the situation man to man, woman to man.

I saw him pick up a noisy baby girl, who was running about and squealing with laughter out of reach of her mother's anxious arms during the solemn hour of prayer when the whole family were bowed in devotion! Father stopped his prayer, got up deliberately, caught the baby, spanked her lightly, laid her down sobbing in her mother's waiting arms, returned to his own chair where he knelt and quietly concluded his family orisons. Brutal he could not be, firm he always was. But the corrected child, inheriting his own poise, subconsciously admitted the justice of the rebuke and was first to fly for forgiveness to his fatherly bosom.

The family life was as ideal as human relations could ever be. There may have been tragedies of death, of suffering and of toil, yes, but we had little sickness and few deaths or funerals. All these sorrows flowed about us, never in between us. To-day, always in the past, and please the Lord, for ever on the Other Side, we Youngs shall be with each other with father, mothers and with God!

In this statement all of my father's living children coincide. Another point on which they all agree is that no other fact of father's life was so profound a proof of his true nobility and greatness as his life at home and the influence which he radiated there. He was ever present in spirit, and we were not surprised, certainly never alarmed, to see him at any unexpected moment or place.

The world knows Brigham Young as a statesman and coloniser; but to his children he was an ideal father. Kind to a fault, tender, thoughtful, just and firm. He spoke but once, and none were so daring as to disobey. But that his memory is almost worshipped by all who bear his name is an eloquent tribute to his character. None of us feared him; all of us adored him. If the measure of a man's greatness is truly given by Carlyle, as bounded by the number of those who love him and who were loved by him; then few men are as great as was my father, Brigham Young. What his life and love meant to his family only their subsequent lives may testify. What he did as state-founder, commonwealth builder, only the pages of history may imperfectly recall.

# XXX

## HIS LAST DAYS

Final Days Spent in Perfecting Church Machinery—Organising the Priesthood and Stakes—Defining the Duties of All Church Workers—Final Winter Spent in St. George—Temple Ordinance Work for the Young Family—Public Labours and School Endowments—Birthday Celebration—Last Evening Gathering in the Lion House—Unexpected Seizure in the Night Proves Fatal—His Last Words and Death-Bed Scenes—The Funeral—No Pomp or Ceremony—Black Forbidden—A Just and Equable Will—All Wives and Children Benefit.

THE last days of Brigham Young were crowded with labour, persecution, church and state building, travelling and organising the growing multitude who had embraced the Gospel or who were of the second and third generation in the Church.

As his counsellor, George Q. Cannon, said of him, "He was anxious to get the Priesthood organised and the Stakes everywhere set in order. He released all the Twelve from presiding over local places in order that this divine work might be accomplished."

As his last years are studied, it appears that the greatest work of his later life was the building of Temples and the gathering up of the priesthood lines laid down through revelations to the Prophet, but not as yet woven into an elastic, yet impregnable structure. The relative priestly values and inter-relationship of the quorums were still a somewhat debatable legend, as authorities quoted or misquoted the Prophet. His churchly lessons studied thoroughly under the Prophet, and assisted, as he was, by the direct revelations of God to his mind and by the discussions with his own associate leaders, he shaped and moulded the humanly perfected and divinely revealed spiritual machinery of this Church into a compact, harmonious autonomy.

As men moved out to settle up a place in contiguous valleys, Bishops were appointed in each ward or section, to exercise their temporal jurisdiction—the unit of Church government usually comprising about a thousand souls. Then as the valleys filled up, members of the quorum of the apostles were called out to assist in "settling up" different places and sections and were given ecclesiastical control over large areas, with Bishops under them in each town or ward. This was a great convenience to the people, as travel was difficult, men were exceedingly busy and there was much for local leaders to do in the adjustment of both temporal and spiritual problems, besides earning their living by hard manual labour which all of them did. As the railway came in, and cities grew, even this arrangement proved inadequate. Compact stake organisations—a stake being a group of wards under one government—were needed in each large section, and in crowded valleys there was room for more than one stake.

In each stake separate Presidencies of each division of the Priesthood were organised. This close-knit organisation made for efficiency of operation; and above all responsibility was distributed in direct ratio to the growth of organisation among the people. "Responsibility develops men—distribute it as widely as possible, but give no man two offices," was a frequent counsel. All this was to conform with the perfect pattern laid down by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

There followed a whirlwind campaign of stake and quorum organisation, twenty stakes being organised or re-organised during the next few months. Thus the great Leader fastened up, as securely as time and circumstance permitted, each link in the marvellous chain of organisation revealed to the Prophet, and the further functioning thereof was committed by him to his successors in the Presidency of the Church. He did not, nor could he, perfect and codify every principle and function of the Church and its government—no man could, or can. The foundation of the Gospel is Truth, and truth is progressive. Ossification, stagnation, is the fate of iron-bound rules of procedure. Truth is always the same, to-day and for ever; but its application to human relations and mutations varies with time and circumstance. As far, however, as was humanly possible, President Young set in order every quorum and function of the Priesthood and the Church.

His last winter, 1876–77, was spent in his St. George home where he greatly enjoyed the society of his family and friends. This peaceful respite after long years or arduous labour and bitter persecution did much to recuperate his vitality and comfort his spirit. His wife, Lucy Bigelow, the writer's mother, was there with her daughters; also Aunt Eliza Burgess in his other home.

The Annual Conference of the Church was called by him to convene in St. George, combining with this conference the formal dedicatory services of the Temple, as only a portion of that sacred House had been formerly dedicated. This final formal dedication took place on April 4, 1877. Important instructions were given to the Priesthood and to all the assembled members at the dedication ceremony and general conference. Temple procedure was explained while some of the practical features of the Church work were dwelt upon.

During that winter the Leader was deeply engaged in attending to the Temple ordinance work for his father, mother and kindred dead. One of his sons, a nephew, and five of his daughters, spent the winter assisting in this family Temple work.

Returning to his home in Salt Lake City after the conference, he continued his active Church duties. He was busy planning further development of the Church Schools which his Counsellor, George Q. Cannon, had insisted should be called after his name, to which he hesitated for some time before finally consenting. Fifteen thousand acres of land was deeded to the College at Logan. The very day that he was taken ill a deed was brought into his room by his clerk which would have meant an added endowment of $40,000, to the Brigham Young University at Provo. It was not signed, as he was too ill when it was in readiness for his signature.

His last birthday, June 1, 1877, was quietly celebrated in the Lion House where by invitation the members of his family met to do him honour. At the head of the table sat his brothers, Joseph, Phineas, and Lorenzo—his brother John had been dead some years—and around the tables were grouped his own wives and children. In his after-dinner conversation he made some remarks to his assembled family, then turning to his brothers he told them he had neither time nor strength to complete the Temple and the genealogical work for their ancestors and with solemn words and profound conviction he charged his brothers with the responsibility of carrying that work forward for the Young family line.

His last trip was taken on August 19, 1877, when he re-organised the Box Elder Stake of Zion. Returning to Salt Lake City four days later, on Thursday, August 23, he carried forward as usual the tasks of the day. He was not well, but he attributed his illness to a bilious attack to which he was more or less subject. In the evening he attended a large conference of the lesser Priesthood and there he gave instructions regarding the duties of bishops, priests, and teachers, urging all to attend faithfully to the sacred responsibilities resting upon them. After the meeting he appointed a committee to superintend the building of a new hall in the Temple enclosure which resulted in the erection of a smaller Assembly Hall.

After prayers that evening he sat in council with Aunt Eliza R. Snow in the prayer-room. Edward Tullidge had compiled a story on the *Women of Mormondom,* which contained some interesting biography of the leading women of the Church and an account of the heroic struggle of those early years. Aunt Eliza and some of her associates thought it might be

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S GRAVE

THE BRONZE STATUES OF JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH
IN THE GROUNDS OF THE TEMPLE AREA

proper and advisable to send a group of women out into the world to give lectures on Mormonism and to dispose of the woman's book. Two of the daughters of Brigham Young were included in the list of women who were to go.

"It is an experiment—but one that I should like to see tried," said Brigham Young to Sister Snow at the close of the discussion. Then picking up his candle he added: "I think now I shall go and take my rest."

At 11 o'clock that night he was seized with an attack of what was supposed to be "cholera morbus"—perhaps appendicitis. During the whole of the following day, Friday, his sufferings were great, continuing through most of the night but becoming less severe towards Saturday morning when he slept for a few hours. During the whole of this period he endured his pain cheerfully and occasionally made humorous remarks as was his wont when he saw those around him inclined to be troubled.

Throughout Sunday he continued, both while awake and asleep, to moan. When asked if he suffered pain his invariable reply was, "No, I don't know that I do." About 10 o'clock on Monday evening he sank into a semi-comatose condition, from which it was difficult to arouse him.

On Tuesday night, August 28, about 10 o'clock, while lying in a kind of stupor, his son John W. asked him, "Do you know me, father?" He responded, "I rather guess I do." About two hours previous to his demise, when several brethren prayed for him, he responded in a clear and distinct voice, "Amen."

On Wednesday morning symptoms of approaching dissolution were plainly evident, and on that day, August 29, 1877, he passed away in his seventy-seventh year.

The incidents of his last hours were written by his daughter Zina for the benefit of the writer who was not present: "It was with sinking hearts that we learned from the doctor that he feared father's illness was going to be fatal. He suffered much pain. His physician administered opiates to relieve the pain and which caused him to sleep during his last hours. He seemed so restless that Dr. Seymour B. Young, his nephew, thought it best for him to be removed from the canopy bed he occupied which stood in an alcove of the room and placed him before the open window where he would get the air and where his beloved ones could be around him.

"I can't remember all who were there, except that Uncle Joseph Young, his brother, was by his side, his son John W. Young, and several of his wives, and many of his children were there. When he was placed upon the bed in front of the window he seemed to partially revive, and opening his eyes, he gazed upward, exclaiming: "Joseph! Joseph! Joseph!" and the divine look in his face seemed to indicate that he was communicating with his beloved friend, Joseph Smith, the Prophet. This name was the last word he uttered.

"As we saw his life ebbing rapidly, we all knelt down around the bed and Uncle Joseph offered a fervent prayer to God that his going should be in peace and not in distress. I knelt where I had full view of his countenance, and in the middle of the prayer I was impelled to open my eyes, and father's face was radiant with inward glory. It seemed that a cloud of light surrounded him.

"My sister said as she looked out of the window in the yard of the Lion House, that it was filled with people who stood in reverent silence, the gentlemen with their hats removed. As father's breath grew shorter and the prayer was finished, the Doctor said, 'He is gone.' The multitude who stood respectfully beneath the window heard the words and a murmuring sigh of grief went up like incense to heaven from the loving hearts of all those who had been employed by him who stood there together with his own numerous friends and relatives.

"Gazing upon that noble face, I thought he looked like a God. Peace and serenity and grandeur were enthroned upon his countenance, and no one felt that they could give way to noisy demonstration. It was the silent grieving of falling tears and moaning hearts that respected him and loved him so much. The husband, the father, the leader, the chosen prophet of God, lay sleeping before our eyes never more on earth to give his words of counsel, of wisdom. Colonisers sing his praise; and those who knew not his true worth could judge of his holy life by contrast, but his deeds and life stand out pre-eminent marking him as the rightful successor of Joseph Smith, the leader of the people, the Prophet of God!"

The funeral was held in the Tabernacle and thousands of people crowded the grounds as well as the building itself. Yet, in accordance with his own instructions there was no mourning, and tears were quietly repressed. There was a choir of 225 voices led by the Tabernacle choir leader, Professor George Careless, which sang the funeral hymn "Rest," composed by Professor Careless himself. "Brigham Young's Funeral March," composed by the organist, Joseph J. Daynes, was played. "The Dead March in Saul" and "Mendelssohn's Funeral March" were played by the organ and orchestra.

The plain pine coffin which he had instructed should enclose his remains was mounted upon a plain catafalque in full view of the whole congregation and flowers covered it. The building was handsomely decorated, but not in black. No dismal practices were permitted, for death is but a birth into a higher sphere, so he believed and taught.

Elder George Q. Cannon, speaking at the funeral service, after reading the Leader's own instructions concerning the disposition of his body, said:

> "I have often heard President Young speak about death; and when I saw him depart I felt that the great wish of his heart had at last been granted unto him. Naturally he was a man of indomitable courage, of an unyielding will; and he could not submit even to the conqueror Death without struggling against him. This was characteristic of his nature. But his natural feelings, as I have often heard him remark, and I think he has expressed the same in public several times, were that he would hail the day of his release from his mortal existence as the happi-

> est day of his life. Whenever it should be the good pleasure of our Father in heaven to call him hence, he would go, he said, with great pleasure and satisfaction. But as I have said, as long as life remained, as long as he felt it his duty to stay here, he would struggle, he would contend for life, he would not yield; but would endeavor to fulfill the mission which our Father in heaven assigned unto him.
>
> "He has been the brain, the eye, the ear, the mouth and hand for the entire people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. From the greatest problems connected with the organisation of this Church down to the smallest minutiae connected with the work, he has left upon it the impress of his great mind. From the organisation of the Church and the construction of Temples, the building of Tabernacles; from the creation of a Provisional State government and a Territorial government, down to the small matter of directing the shape of these seats upon which we sit this day; upon all these things, as well as upon all the settlements of the Territory, the impress of his genius is apparent. Nothing was too small for his mind; nothing was too large. His mind was of that character that it could grasp the greatest subjects, and yet it had the capacity to descend to the minutest details. This was evident in all his counsels and associations with the Saints; he had the power, that wonderful faculty which God gave him and with which he was inspired."

High tributes to the fidelity, respect and love in which the great leader was held were made by Elder John Taylor who was to succeed him in the Presidency of the Church, and by Erastus Snow.

At the close of the simple, but impressive service, the family and friends of the beloved and departed leader, none of whom were dressed in black, walked quietly through the crowded, silent ranks of the sorrowing people up to the small private cemetery on the hill, where, in accordance with his instructions, he was laid away without pomp and ceremony in the silent hill-side to await the voice of the Master on the Resurrection Day. A simple stone, according to his instructions, was placed over the vault which enclosed his remains, where they rest to this day.

His will instructed his executors to bury him simply, to lay him away in a plain casket of mountain wood, and to build no monument over his grave. The will was a model of equity and justice. Each wife was provided with a home of her own or a life-suite in the Lion House, with ample provision for maintenance in comfort to the end of her days. Each daughter, married or single, of first or last wife, inherited equally with the boys and each other; each had also a building lot given them in the Upper Garden. Mothers were given ample powers to disinherit any child who proved unworthy of inheritance and all were enjoined to use their substance in righteous living. A fair monthly income was to be paid to the mothers until the property was settled up, when they were to receive an increased amount, according to the increased possible values of the property.

No mother dispossessed a child. The will was just, it was more: it was full of the kind protecting thought and overarching sympathy which had suffused the life-association of a loving father with his family.

He left no schisms, no disintegration, no spiritual nor moral decay behind him. The people mourned, his friends sorrowed, his family wept. But over and through every family tie, every detail of government, rested the peace of perfect faith in God and in His servant which had inspired every thought and act of the departed Leader.

# XXXI

## THE MEASURE OF A MAN

Outstanding Characteristics—Integrity—Amiability—Deliberation—Power to Take Pains—Lack of Pretence—Aversion to Flattery—Serenity—Refuses Useless Worry—Love of Children—Sense of Humour—Love of Virtue and Honour—Loyalty—Open Mind—Pen Pictures by Friend and Foe—Good for Evil—Tribute to Friends—Debt to Prophet—The Measure of the Man.

SHOULD I endeavor to present in much detail the description of my father's personality my efforts would translate themselves, I fear, in terms of personal reminiscences rather than in critical estimates of his character and habits. It is very difficult to paint a mountain when it towers directly above. I need perspective! I can tell you how I, we, ran over the surface of the mountain height and what gracious watch-care hovered over us children throughout our young lives. But I cannot measure distances nor describe contours. I was too close, too near the source from whence came my help in every time of need. I lean therefore upon the careful judgment of others who knew him well.

Men of distinction, with keen appraisement of human values, meeting Brigham Young for the first time, commented upon his dignity of deportment, the majesty of his presence and the courtesy of his magnetic personality. Further acquaintance revealed his wide vision, powerful intellect and occasional stern estimate of those who sought to take advantage of his people or to ridicule and vilify his associates and himself. Travellers soon discovered that he responded generously to friendly appeals for help, and that the surest passport to his favour lay in the well-defined pathways of common honesty and business fair dealing.

What was his outstanding characteristic as revealed by his history and the testimony of his associates? It was *integrity,* that beautiful word, so rarely used to-day, which explains the basis of his thoughts, his addresses and actions. All other virtues circle around that illuminative trait and light up the divisions of chastity and honesty, truthfulness, probity and dependability. Other traits he had, but the flame of his directing genius and governing power appears on the mental screen and may not be altogether translated into words.

He inherited the amiable qualities of his mother's family, the Howes. His unwrinkled forehead, his smooth cheeks, his lips, not unduly compressed, showed his natural serenity of mind. Like other strong souls so blessed, he found himself often obliged to spike his mental approaches with caution and sometimes with sternness, if he would not succumb to the attendant weakness of his great desire to oblige and to please. Yet wisely he used that other quality of greatness, control of speech and act which we call deliberation and which obviated unjust decisions. He knew when to speak and when to keep silent. His plans for future action he rarely revealed, unless Church policy was involved. All knew as soon as any knew what he was about to do.

His colossal genius included the power to take infinite pains, to measure human and divine values, and to control himself and others with super-control, making him seem to his friends a man "a little lower than the angels." Yet he was sensibly aware of his inferiority to the Prophet Joseph Smith and to other and greater men. His sermons contained frequent reference to his keen self-appraisement.

On one occasion he said:

"I never have professed to be Brother Joseph, but Brother Brigham trying to do good to this people. I am no better, nor any more important than any other man who is trying to do good. If I am, I don't know it. If I improve upon what the Lord has given me, and continue to improve, I shall become like those who have gone before me; I shall be exalted in the celestial kingdom, and be filled to overflowing with all the power I can wield; and all the keys of knowledge I can manage will be committed unto me. What do we want more? I shall be just like every other man—have all that I can, in my capacity, comprehend and manage.

As to his private estimate of himself, he once replied to a daughter who had spoken of his greatness and her admiration for him, "Daughter, I never get a new hat without thinking, as I pick it up, 'Brigham, are you worthy of that?' " The daughter answered with some comment upon her own difficulty in practising self-control, and again he said: "The struggle has been just as hard to manage myself this week as it ever has any week of my life." Truly! because conscience becomes softer and more sensitive over trifling lapses as one advances in experience and in self-discipline.

It was a natural thing for his people to reverence their Leader, to love and to lean heavily upon him. This burden he accepted as a part of his daily life equipment begotten of his place and position. One thing he would not tolerate and that was flattery. Insincere praise and injudicious adulation were like iron to his soul and roused his greatest contempt. Where he thought a corrective was needed he did not hesitate to administer it.

When a young, bright, ambitious poet-preacher delivered a fulsome dose of flattery in a public discourse he jumped up and replied, "I want to refer to Brother ——'s speech right here. As to the correctness of the exalted views that Brother —— has of me I leave it to the congregation to decide for themselves; but to place me on a par with the Scriptural personages he has named, who have overcome and entered into the presence of God; to compare me with the Prophet Joseph Smith, our martyred Prophet, is too much. Mormonism has done all for me, and I always thank God that He sent Joseph the Prophet to reveal His word."

His modesty and true simplicity is told by an English writer who with his great respect for titles, once addressed a letter to him thus:

> "To his Excellency, Brigham Young, Governor of Utah, Indian Agent for the Territory and President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

Next time he met the gentleman Brigham Young said, "I see you have given me my titles."

"Yes, Governor, I think they are all there," the writer answered.

"No, sir, they are not. You have left out the most important one, the first I was ever honestly entitled to in my life and which I have done nothing to be cashiered of since."

"Do you mean the Generalship, Governor? Beg pardon, allow me to add it, Sir."

"No, no matter now, Sir. But the next time you shall put it in by itself, without the others. It will then read, right sprucely: 'For His Excellency, Brigham Young, Painter and Glazier.' "

The wise leader knew that it is by their motives and not by the results of their acts that God judges His people. So also, he judged or sought always to do so.

Notwithstanding the turmoil and strife of his enemies, and the exacting duties of his ecclesiastical calling, he permitted nothing to interfere with the serenity and peace he found in his daily associations with his beloved family. All men need the sustaining quality of sympathy given by loved ones at home. Men may achieve distinction, become great artists and leaders in spite of the tragic loss of deep understanding given only by loving wives and happy children. But the barrenness of their triumph carves despairing lines on faces and leaves cruel scars across the surface of the soul.

His family loved him, because his peculiarly attuned spirit caught and vibrated sympathetically to every chord of joy or sorrow sounded by any member thereof. Yet he avoided useless worry and distress over them and over other unavoidable conditions. He said once, "I never speak of my troubles or experiences unless I can teach a lesson thereby." Again he remarked: "I learned a long while ago not to die because my children go wrong. It has been revealed to me that every child and descendant will come to me some time, somewhere. What causes me great sorrow, however, is to know what some of them will have to go through before they get back." Very few of his children ever lost the faith, or made shipwreck of their lives. But he loved those few quite as deeply as the many others who were an honour to him and to their mothers.

He loved little children, his own and all others. He could rarely pass a child without a word, a tender pat upon the head, or some questioning adapted to the child-mind. One of George A. Smith's little girls, Clarissa, now Mrs. Clarissa Smith Williams, for years General President of the Relief Societies of the Church, was an intimate playmate of his own children. Finding her with his daughters, Maimie and Josephine, as they met by appointment, he took all three into the store.

"Brother Haslam," he said to the store-keeper, "let me see that piece of brown velvet for cloaks. Yes," as the piece was laid on the counter, "that's it. How much will it take to make a cloak each for Maimie and Josephine?"

Then glancing down and noticing the look of suppressed longing on the face of little Clarissa, he asked gently:

"Would you, too, like a piece of this cloth for a cloak?"

"Oh—o—!" was the gasping answer of the small girl.

"Brother Haslam," he said, "cut off another length for Clarissa!"

Another story of his love and care for children is told by the present President of the Church, Heber J. Grant, a son of

THE MORMON TEMPLE, ST. GEORGE, UTAH

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING OF THE MORMON CHURCH, SALT LAKE CITY

his loved counsellor and trusted friend, Jedediah M. Grant (who died soon after the birth of his son Heber).

"When I was about six years of age I jumped on the back of his sleigh with the intention of dropping off after riding a short distance and walking home. His team went so fast I dared not do so, fearing I would be seriously hurt. We came to a stream a mile or two south from my home. As the driver was about to cross the stream President Young saw me for the first time and he called out: 'Brother Isaac (his negro coachman) Brother Isaac, stop. Pick up that child. He is almost frozen.' I was tucked under a warm lap robe, and when we had gone a little distance your father asked 'Are you warm, my boy?' I answered 'Yes.' He said 'Be happy then for we are going to take you for a nice long ride and when we come back we will land you at your home.' He asked my name, and when I answered he told me how he had loved my father and what a good man he was and he also told me to ask my mother to send me up to his office in a few months that I might visit with him. When I went to his office he remembered me and chatted with me pleasantly, and from that day to the day of his death he treated me with the utmost courtesy and took a personal interest in my welfare, and this naturally inspired me with a deep love for him."

But these were the children of his friends though not known to him as such at the time. The following tribute comes unsought from one of the countless numbers who could tell such a story.

Castle Gate, Utah, June 2, 1905.

"Mrs. Susa Young Gates,
Salt Lake City, Utah.

Dear Sister:

Having noticed in the Era some anecdotes of our dear beloved President Brigham Young, although he is dead, he still lives in the memory of his people. I loved him. I remember him when I was a boy. There is one incident I want to relate. It is impressed on my memory for through it I learned to love and revere him.

> At the age of fifteen I was working for Bishop Hunter's sons, Rudolph, William and Oscar, in American Fork, Utah. It was in the year 1871; the boys sent me over to Milo Andrews' place near Sandy with a yoke of cattle and I was riding a small mule. When I got around the point of the mountain between the point and the Dunyans' place I met President Young driving in his carriage with a fine pair of mules and a large train of carriages following him. I did not know any of them—not even President Young at that time. I turned my cattle off the road, but when I got even with President Young he stopped and told me to come over to him. Then he asked me concerning my name, my country, where I came from, whom I worked for, my destination and ever so many questions that I don't remember and I answered them all to my best ability.
>
> Then he told me who he was and gave me his hand and asked God to bless me. A feeling thrilled my soul that has always stayed with me. To think that the President of the Church would stop a boy and talk with him filled me with such love for him that it has remained since then as a sweet memory. I saw him a good many times during the winter of 1874 and 1875 while I was working in St. George on the Temple and heard many good counsels given by him, while there. I was at his funeral in Salt Lake City when he was laid to rest. I have seen him in my dreams at times and it seems that he has been my guiding star through life.
>
> (Signed) **John A. Poulson."**

From his Scotch-Irish ancestry, Brigham Young inherited a keen sense of humour. It was unsafe for any of his children to whine around him, for his instant mimicry made the child so ridiculous in his own eyes that he was glad to be either good natured or honestly angry. A whining tone of voice, or an artificial mannerism copied from some stage hero or heroine would reappear in his tones and gestures and his witty imitation and reply brought the youthful aspirants for histrionic honours back to their genuine and better selves. He would imitate an explosive quarreling man or a fashionably dressed woman with tilting hoops and pronounced Grecian bend so delicately and so perfectly that a whole gathering would be so impressed as to need no further rebuke. But he was never spiteful, nor sarcastic; his wit was wholesome and his jokes were always good natured and void of personal offence.

He was always a good sport and enjoyed a joke even though at his own expense. One of the territorial governors, who had professed great friendliness towards him, prepared two letters for the mail, one for Brigham Young and the other for his friend in Washington who had secured him the appointment. By mistake the letters got placed in the wrong envelopes, and the Leader received the one intended for the Senator at Washington. In the envelope was a photograph of Brigham Young, on the back of which appeared the words: "Here is a picture of the old billygoat himself." He at once returned the enclosure to the sender with the terse announcement, "With the compliments of the 'Old Billygoat!' "

Temperate in all things, the fires of power were held in leash by that master hand upon the throttle of his own desires and impulses that the better he might advise and guide those around him. He loved purity of body and soul. He engraved upon the minds of his girls that death was preferable to dishonour; he charged his sons to remember that not only must they guard their own chastity as they would their lives, but they must likewise protect the virtue of women and girls—who sometimes offered innocently, because ignorantly, temptations that would destroy themselves and their companions. He despised a liar, even the form of untruth called exaggeration he deplored. He was averse to that form of uncertain expression called "slang" which accompanies modern social usage.

His loyalty was profound. He was loyal to his beloved country for which his fathers fought and bled in Revolutionary days; loyal to his family who loved him and each other with an abiding eternal affection; loyal to his friends and associates who shared his burdens, returned his confidence and magnified his joys; loyal to his great file-leader the Prophet Joseph Smith—whose name was upon his dying lips as he sank into the enfolding arms of kindly death. Above all he worshipped God and His Son Jesus Christ our Saviour and Lord, enjoining upon all his family and his people the necessity of following in the footsteps of that Holy One who died that we might live. "The Latter Day Saints believe in the Gospel of the Son of God, simply because it is true," he once declared. "They believe that Jesus is the Saviour of the World; they believe that all who attain to any glory whatever, in any kingdom, will do so because Jesus has purchased it by His atonement."

This devotion and loyalty it was which antagonised so bitterly those who opposed him and his public policies. Not one of his family opposed him; they were often careless and forgetful, but never (with the exception of one so-called wife) rebellious. That too, not because of fear, but because we all loved him and wanted him to love us.

The estimate of any leader must measure the quality and value of his life and teachings upon his family and his people which he left as their most precious heritage. He found himself at the head of a distracted, mob-driven, Prophet-robbed people whose eyes were wet with tears and whose hearts shook with uncertainty. Yet were they not altogether hopeless nor helpless. Under God he marshalled those hosts, prepared them for an exodus in the wilderness to which he gathered them, and left them a mighty people in the heart of the West.

He was essentially a man with an open mind. He once declared that the Prophet had advised him "to miss no opportunity to learn, to study, and to investigate;" adding "that if but one study could be taken up I would recommend 'Natural Philosophy.' " In those days natural philosophy covered most of the sciences and all of scientific inquiry. The Gospel door opens itself to a better and a fuller understanding of the sciences—government, politics, statecraft, economics, education and morality. All these subjects filled Brigham Young's soul with eager questioning which time could but partly satisfy.

He had little time for reading in after years, and little for quiet reflection. He replied to his daughter, Maria, who asked him if he had read a certain history: "No, daughter, I am too busy making history to find any time to read history."

Studious men who came into his presence sought to weigh his character against the balance of his deeds, and many of them have given their estimates to the world. Such pictures are coloured naturally, by the prism of the author's own angle on humanity. That he was a great man to his associates and family is obvious. But what had others to say of him? Many clear-cut and friendly portraits have been painted by men who were not biased by friendship, nor swayed by religious loyalty.

A few of these views by non-Mormons are here presented.

The historian Bancroft who wrote a history of Utah, says of him:

> "Brigham Young was now in his forty-third year, in the prime of a hale and vigorous manhood, with exuberant vitality, with marvellous energy, and with unswerving faith in his cause and in himself; with deep-set, blue-gray eyes, he was a strong-willed man, one born to be master of himself and many others. In manner and address he was easy and void of affectation, deliberate in speech, conveying his original and suggestive ideas in apt though homely phrase. When in council he was cool and imperturbable, slow to decide, and in no haste to act; but when the time for action came he worked with an energy that was satisfied only with success."

In *A Journey to Salt Lake City* by Remy and Brenchly, two French travellers, who visited the West in those early days, is found the following:

> "John Hyde, the apostate, who published a book in New York on Mormonism, in which he does not spare his former co-religionists, nor, at times, even Young himself, represents the latter, on the whole, as a superior man.
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> "Brigham Young is not an ordinary man. With an extensive knowledge of men, and a fine and delicate tact, he combines unusual strength of mind and remarkable energy of character. . . .
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> "One of the severest tests of greatness, says Hyde, is the power to completely centre in oneself a thousand interests and the deep affection of a thousand hearts. All really great men have done this. Philosophy has had its disciples, adventurers their followers, generals their soldiers, kings their subjects, imposters their fanatics. No man ever lived who had more deeply devoted friends than Brigham Young. The magnet-

> ism that attracts and infatuates, abounds in him. Even his enemies have to acknowledge a great charm in the influence he throws around him. The clerks in his office, and his very wives, feel the same veneration for the Prophet as the most respectful newcomer. . . . The whole secret of Brigham's influence lies in his *real sincerity.* Brigham may be a great man, greatly deceived, but he is not a hypocrite. Brigham Young embraced Mormonism in sincerity, conscientiously believed, faithfully practised, and enthusiastically taught it. As devoted to Smith as Kimball is now to him, he reverenced him as a prophet, and loved him as a man. For the sake of his religion, he has over and over again left his family, confronted the world, endured hunger, come back poor, made wealth and given it to the Church. He holds himself prepared to lead his people in sacrifice and want, as in plenty and ease. No holiday friend nor summer prophet, he has shared their trials as well as their prosperity. He never pretends to more than the inward monitions of the Spirit, nor, as Smith, to direct revelations and physical manifestations. No man prays more fervently than Brigham Young. No man can more win the hearts nor impress the minds of his hearers than Brigham while in prayer. Few men can persist in believing him a hypocrite, either in his family, or in private meetings, or in public."

Soon after his appointment as Governor of the new territory, his enemies were circulating vile and untrue reports concerning his character. His friend, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, wrote a personal letter to Millard Fillmore, then President of the United States, in which he expresses his views of the character of Brigham Young:

> "My dear President Fillmore: I have no wish to evade the responsibility of having vouched for the character Mr. Brigham Young, of Utah, and of his fitness for the station he now occupies. I reiterate without reserve, the statement of his excellent capacity, energy and integrity, which I made you prior to his appointment. I am willing to say I volunteered to communicate to you the facts by which I was convinced of his patriotism and devotion to the interests of the Union. I made no qualifications when I assured you of his irreproachable moral character, because I was able to speak of this from my own intimate personal knowledge. . . .
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> "It happens felicitously enough for the purpose of accusation before you, that Brigham Young was the man of all others, whose influence carried through that measure with the Church (the raising of the Mormon battalion). It was his American flag that was brought out to float over those hills for the first time; his drums beat, and his brave

American speeches rang through the hearts of his people. It was he who said there 'You shall have your battalion at once, if it has to be a class of Elders.' I want you to remark, sir, that this, their first communication with our Government after their expulsion from their homes in Illinois, dates as of August 9, 1846. 'The best Government on earth.' 'The Constitution of the United States most precious among nations.' This is its language. . . .

"Young is a hard-working, conscientious, well-tried man. . . . Young is fortunate in his family too. I remember him wrapped up in his youngest child, an infant, whose health was suffering from the hardships of the march; and I recollect also that he had a son of the finest promise. Withal, he is so true a fellow, and has so much else to look after—being consulted by his people, as it seemed to me, upon nearly every emergency from an Indian foray to a broken leg or a funeral—that I suspect he pays no manner of heed to any sort of abuse. His wife, however, who comes of a very respectable New England stock, charitable as St. Bridget, and proud of her husband as Queen Victoria, frets, I am told—as pious women will do in such cases—over every fresh piece of nastiness, as if it were an awful and undignified message of Providential chastisement.

"During a long attack of malignant fever, from which my constitution has not yet recovered this lady showed me kindness I can never forget, and you must not wonder that my blood boils to think that upon her, mainly recoil these brutal slanders.

"I have headed this 'Personal' rather that I might feel at ease in writing to you in haste, than for any better reason. You are at liberty, therefore, to make what use you please of its contents."

One was never left indifferent—one loved or hated Brigham Young. It was impossible to know him and not love and respect or to dislike if not hate him. He spoke of this at one time:

"My name is held for good and evil upon the whole earth, as promised to me. Thirty years ago Brother Joseph, in a lecture to the Twelve said to me, 'Your name shall be known for good and evil throughout the world' and it is so. The good love me, weak and humble as I am, and the wicked hate me; but there is no individual on the earth but what I would lead to salvation, if he would let me; I would take him by the hand, like a child, and lead him like a father in the way that would bring him to salvation."

In this tribute to my father I include his brothers and sisters, the splendid family of my grandfather John Young—all of whom joined the Church and whose descendants, with very few exceptions, remained loyal and true to the Church. They all took an active and creditable part in the varied and taxing tasks of building a new state and conquering a wilderness. They loved and honoured my father as I know he did them and as I honour them to-day.

I also include all the great men and women who assisted him in the stupendous accomplishment of his time; and who were as hands and feet or eyes to make possible the building of a great commonwealth in the midst of a trackless desert. Without him as leader it had scarcely been possible: but without them the task had been utterly unthinkable. He and his friends and associates were as one in God's hand in accomplishing this great modern miracle. All of these great and good men had large families and the same things said here about Brigham Young's family could be repeated, in large measure, about the families of these men. They were each powerful-souled individuals, whom Brigham Young could not, if he would, dominate, but he could and did lead them—when he was filled with the spirit of his office and calling. When he had that spirit, all of them listened and accepted his inspired direction.

In one of his sermons he said:

> "It is sometimes taught among us that we should follow Brother Joseph or Brother Brigham, or some other leader and do as they say, and that is all that is required. Now this is in one sense a false doctrine. No man should trust solely the testimony of another. He should have a direct testimony from God for himself. The obedience is intelligent and not blind. I might have listened to Joseph Smith testify to the truth of the Book of Mormon until I was as old as Methuselah, and in the end I would have gone away in darkness had I not received a testimony from God that he was a prophet and that he knew by revelation whereof he spoke. Men should get the spirit of God and then live by it."

Love of Christ, of family and friends, this was the cornerstone upon which they all built. On this vital truth the

TEMPLE ERECTED BY THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS, AT MESA, ARIZONA, 1927

NEW MORMON TEMPLE, CARDSTON, SOUTHERN ALBERTA, CANADA

Church of Christ has been built under the manifold human expression of homes and farms, cities and states, communities and commonwealths. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Again and again did he bear testimony to his indebtedness to the Prophet of the Nineteenth Century.

> "It has been said," he once declared, "that if I preach this doctrine and do not mention Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, or Zion, the people will follow me. My reply is it would not do them any good, for what I have received from the Lord I have received by Joseph Smith. He was the instrument made use of. If I drop him I must drop these principles. They have not been revealed, declared, or explained by any other man, since the days of the Apostles. If I lay down the Book of Mormon, I shall have to deny that Joseph is a Prophet; and if I lay down the doctrines and cease to preach the gathering of Israel, and the building up of Zion, I must lay down the Bible. No one can say that Jesus lives and at the same time declare that Joseph Smith was not a Prophet of the Lord. No one can say the Book of Mormon is true, and at the same time say the Bible is untrue. If one is true, both are; and if one be false, both are false. . . . I have studied my religion faithfully for twenty-two years, day and night, at home and abroad, upon the rivers and lakes, when travelling by sea and by land. Whatsoever might be my pursuit, I have studied it with as close an application as any college student ever did any subject of science or art and I can say I have only just got the ABC of it. It leads the vision of my mind into eternity."

Brigham Young worshipped that Risen Saviour who visited the young man Joseph in the grove at Palmyra, restoring to him the lost keys of the Priesthood and the power to re-establish the Church and the Kingdom of God upon the earth in these latter days. But he had no desire to deify the Prophet. He deprecated man-worship. He subconsciously resented both the scorn heaped upon the Prophet's memory by the world and the efforts of any silly person about him who slyly sought to elevate himself by belittling the Prophet. Scarcely a sermon of his can be found which does not contain some reverent allusion to the "New Witness" who was chosen to lay the foundation of Christ's Kingdom in these last days.

He had borne witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to the mission of Joseph Smith in every word and act of his life. He revered the Prophet Joseph as only a Prophet of God may be revered. No one can justly estimate the character of the Great Utah Pioneer who fails to measure the influence of Joseph Smith upon the life and subsequent career of his best friend and most loyal follower. These two men, great as they were, possessed the acme of leadership which drew the people not to themselves alone as super-men, but rather to God and to Christ, whom they worshipped and served and whose humble instruments they were. What Brigham lacked, Joseph supplied: where both failed, God wrought. Brigham Young's last whispered word was the name of his friend who, no doubt, had come down from the Courts Above, to greet and guide his associate upward. "Joseph! Joseph! Joseph! Joseph!" —this loving greeting to his friend and leader closed the pages of Brigham Young's earthly life.

If Joseph and Brigham, as they together soared upward from the deathbed in the Lion House chamber, glanced over the wide expanse of embowered cities and towns, smiling fields and fruitful gardens, mills and factories, the homes of a quarter of a million people in the Rocky Mountains, with schoolhouses, churches and temples, where only the silence of desolation brooded only thirty short years before, both would unite in one selfless pæan of praise:

"See—what hath God wrought!"

These men shared that fundamental greatness which refused to accept personal credit, much less personal adulation. Brigham Young attributed his knowledge of state and church building, first to God who inspired, then to Joseph Smith who proclaimed every principle and plan revealed to him.

Always hope, always life, always progression, always faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. That was the religion and the guiding principle of Brigham Young's life.

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